CYCLE STUDENT ETUDIANT

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photo :
Zenon Koltalo

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STUDENT is a non-profit, bi-lingual, bi-monthly Ukrainian student newspaper which is published by the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union.

STUDENT is a form of fact and opinion dealing with political, cultural and social material.

Opinions expressed in STUDENT are not necessarily those of the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union (SUSK) or the STUDENT editorial board. They are the opinions and beliefs of individuals and ultimately it is these individuals who are responsible for the articles.

Letters to the editor are welcome. We reserve the right to edit materials for publication.

A Word About This Issue

It is the season of the witch. Spring. The psychology of the seasons is indeed an obscure and enigmatic phenomenon but it is one shared by all of mankind. It seems that at certain points during the calendrical cycle there arises within man seasonal emotions, unexplainable and unbidden emotions that subconsciously direct man, his thoughts and subsequent actions. This malaise is most pronounced in spring, perhaps the most complex, insistent and salient of all the seasons. Twenty-five hundred years ago, Greek maidens danced wildly on Mount Parnassus to honour the great god of nature, of spring — Dionysus. Today modern man like his ancestors also honours spring and Dionysus in his own individual way and the dancing continues, be it on mountain tops, asphalt sidewalks or at the Dauphin Ukrainian Festival. Modern man recognizes and accepts spring for the fever in the blood is inescapable. During the Dionysian festivals man abolished all boundaries and annihilated the self in order to attain new levels of consciousness. In order to be reborn one must first die; in order to find oneself one must first lose oneself. This is the eternal message of spring. One must first die in order to live again. A paradox perhaps, but it is through paradoxes that we learn for is not life one contradiction after another? It is the lesson which nature herself exemplifies. Dionysus twice-born of mother and father preaches a second birth to man, a renewal, a resurrection, the leaving of the old for the new. Spring is a celebration in change. This issue of STUDENT is dedicated to spring, to Dionysus and to change within the Ukrainian community.

The articles in this issue are as varied and as different as the individuals who wrote them, yet all are new and provide diverse perspectives on our community. Spring has been a long time coming in the Ukrainian community but it has finally arrived, or so we hope. It is time for change. The articles are serious and not so serious, straightforward and ironic, dealing with assimilation, multiculturalism, multilingual broadcasting, political arrests in Ukraine, the CBC action, Ukrainian comics, secretive military training camps, etc. The article on Ukrainian comics is particularly interesting. It seems that the average Ukrainian takes irony and sarcasm as he would an insult. It's hard to laugh at times but laugh we must and loudly at that. A touch of humour is perhaps the only cure for imminent insanity. The old cliché holds true — if you can't laugh at yourself who can you laugh at? Humour is badly needed in the Ukrainian community and especially good humour which is not destructive but rather which provides a new perspective on the individual, his community, the organizations and the problems inherent in the organizations. Mass arrests have taken place in Ukraine once again and a defense campaign for Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil is underway. It is imperative that we support this defense campaign for those unjustly oppressed in Ukraine. Multiculturalism has become an accepted fact in the Canadian government and society, on paper that is. What is it like in reality? Is it a viable working concept? Read the article on multiculturalism and the study done on assimilation. Are we deluding ourselves when we believe in multiculturalism or is the melting pot an inevitable end? I wonder. An interview with a representative of the hottest Ukrainian student magazine in the United States. Why is the American community up in arms about NEW DIRECTIONS? CBC action. Multilingual broadcasting. Perspectives by a blind man which are guaranteed to open your eyes.

Our Ukrainian community has existed in Canada since 1891 and since that time there have been changes and changes. It is time once again for Dionysus to do his stuff. Do you feel that spring? The STUDENT editorial board is undergoing a spring of its own. The next issue will see a new summer staff. Nothing remains the same and this newspaper is certainly not an exception. Change. Spring. The season of the witch.

Halya Kuchmij

Letter

To the EDITOR: In response to the article by Bohdan Chomiak in STUDENT Mar. 1973, Vol. 6, No. 22, Page 2.

Attention B. Chomiak:

I have never seen you, met you, spoken with you, nor do I know what interests or affiliations you have with SUSK, yet, somehow you have found a motive that overbalances the risky position you have taken by submitting slanderous accusations to STUDENT against me and KYM RECORD CO. Perhaps because you designed SUSK's album cover you consider yourself an authority on the Ukrainian record business and its community effects.

You pointed out that SUSK has put out the KOBZA album "for the purpose of raising funds which are returned to the students". I sometimes wonder what percentage of Ukrainian students really do get some kind of return, because from what we hear in Ottawa, SUSK is in debt (the figure varies from four to fifteen thousand) from past business ventures and project flops. It seems to me that SUSK has more important functions as an administrative and co-ordinating body for the students and clubs across Canada than becoming a business firm.

In reference to community benefit I feel that any form of mass media communication cannot be detrimental to the Ukrainian community and culture. Furthermore, if a producer can market a better quality product at a better price this will only benefit the consumer. The general public is very difficult to fool or be forced to purchase certain products. (We DO live in a democracy!)

Let me also correct you on your theory of distribution. Firstly, before I went into partnership with Dr. M. Shabotynsky, to form KYM RECORDS CO.; I had been in the business for four years and have established markets in Canada and the U.S. We faced no problem, as you mentioned, in distribution in the USA even though there were already two other companies that had released the same record. I might also mention that one of the above companies had a version of 'KOBZA' already in Canada and both these companies as well as KYM had their record marketed before SUSK released theirs. Yet because I happen to be the UCSFO President you feel you have an avenue to criticize me and KYM RECORDS. Have you considered writing to any of the other producers?

You have also found grounds to drag in the UCSF of Ottawa and the question of club dues. Let me say that we have not received a single letter from National SUSK, which is supposed to be the co-ordinating body for all Ukrainian University Clubs in Canada. I realize that we are in a period of inflation but a stamp is only eight cents. I don't know how many other clubs are in our position regarding club dues but I do know we have contributed the following: $500.00 to SUSK from the National SUSK Congress held in Ottawa; $100.00 for 'Koliada' collected by our members. Apart from the above we have just received an additional bill for expenses from the Congress of $291.00 which has also been settled by us.

I really don't believe that you had malicious intention in your letter Mr. Chomiak; now that I have reread your article again the last paragraph makes your motive quite obvious; but believe me that is the cheapest and most unethical form of advertising I have ever experienced. To keep this matter at this level and out of court I am anxiously waiting for a letter of apology.

L. Rudenko
President — UCSFO

P.S. 'KOBZA' is not banned in the USSR.

(Ed's note: The debt inherited by the present SUSK executive has accumulated over the past three years. Through the fund-raising of SUSK (which includes such things as the selling of the KOBZA album, Ferment in the Ukraine, t-shirts, etc.) this year, the debt has been cut from $8,000 to $3,000. As Mr. Rudenko must realize, conferences, congresses, free STUDENT, literature for distribution, CBC action, club visitations, etc. all require financing. SUSK is not a business firm but an organization which provides services for students across Canada. The money raised by SUSK is taken from the community but it also is returned to the community in a cyclic form.)

Letter

To the Editor:

I object to being ignored by SUSK and Mr. Chomiak in this KOBZA controversy. Why am I not being slandered and campaigned against just like Mr. Rudenko? My name is on the back of the cover and so is my address. I had as much to do with the KYM record as he did. In fact, if it had not been for my financial backing, this record KOBZA may not have even existed. I do not see why I am being ignored. I would like to know the reasons.

Perhaps Mr. Chomiak did not mention my name because he did not know that I existed. It seems a plausible assumption for in his letter he refers to the KYM record profits as exclusively Mr. Rudenko's profits and he calls this so-called distribution agreement, "his promise".

Or perhaps I am not being brought into this because I have donated money to SUSK in the past and I am not a student. If this is the case I thank SUSK and Mr. Chomiak for their consideration. However I still object to their underhanded slander campaign against our album and Mr. Rudenko.

Or perhaps Mr. Chomiak has just been misinformed. Maybe his source of information is the same one which convinced SUSK that the record is banned in the USSR (which it isn't). If so, he obviously does not know what he is talking about.

When slanderous accusations based on hearsay are printed in a newspaper, it is a serious matter that is not easily ignored.

I expect, Mr. Chomiak, to see an apology in print to Mr. Rudenko and me for your unwarranted accusations.

Dr. N. Shabotynsky
Ottawa

(Ed's note: Perhaps KOBZA should have been banned in Canada, eh?)

JURIJ SOLOVIJ POST CARD

Under the sponsorship of the Ukrainian Canadian University Students Union (Headquarters), a coloured postcard from a work by artist Jurij Solovij of New York has been printed in Winnipeg. The card is the third in the series "Ukrainian artists".

The Jurij Solovij postcard (Head, 1971. Gouache-Paste-up) measures 7.5 inches by 6 inches and costs 50c each.

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DEFENSE CAMPAIGN FOR IVAN DZYUBA AND VYACHESLAV CHORNOVIL

In February and March of this year, two prominent Ukrainian socialists, Ivan Dzyuba and Vyacheslav Chornovil, were sentenced to imprisonment by Soviet courts for political activity. They had been arrested along with some two hundred other political oppositionists in January, 1972, as part of a Union-wide campaign to curb the growing expression of discontent with certain policies of the bureaucracy.

Ivan Dzyuba, a Marxist and former literary editor of the State Publishing House, was sentenced to five years imprisonment at a trial in March of this year. He is best known for his book **Internationalism or Russification?**, a Leninist critique of the nationalities policy currently enforced by the bureaucracy. This work, originally forwarded to P. Shelest, then first Secretary of the Communist Party of Ukraine, as a memorandum, was widely read later in opposition circles in the USSR. In 1968, it appeared in the West and has been published in English, Ukrainian and French.

Internationalism or Russification? is a study of the period of cultural rennaissance in the Ukrainian SSR during the 1920's and Stalin's reversal of the policy of Ukrainianization in the late 20's and 30's when repressions and purges liquidated leading political and cultural figures. Dzyuba traces the distortion of Lenin's nationalities policy through the 1930's to the present day. With ample evidence he demonstrates that the present processes of Russification are anti-socialist and contrary to the most elementary of democratic principles.

He was predominent in the defense of arrested dissidents in the first major crackdown against political opposition in September, 1965, when he, together with two other well-known figures, V. Chornovil and V. Stus, addressed a theatre audience in Kiev and appealed for a massive defense of arrested dissidents.

Following his second arrest in January, 1972, (previous arrest in 1965) Dzyuba was expelled from the Writers' Union of Ukraine for allegedly circulating anti-Soviet and nationalist materials. He was released in February, 1972, only to be kept under house arrest until April when he was again arrested and imprisoned. Since that time, Dzyuba remained in prison, appearing only for a trial in mid March, 1973, where he was sentenced to five years hard labour. In view of his deteriorating health (he suffers from an advanced case of tuberculosis) this could prove to be a death sentence.

Vyacheslav Chornovil, a journalist and formerly a member of the editorial board of the Komsomol newspaper "Moloda Gvardiva" first became prominent when he exposed the sweeping arrest and secret trials carried out by the KGB (Soviet Police) in 1965-66. A collection of documents written by Chornovil appeared in the West in 1968, entitled **The Chornovil Papers**. Like Dzyuba's book, it was addressed to P. Shelest and exposed the illegality of actions taken against oppositionists in pre-trial investigations and during the trials themselves.

Chornovil continued to write letters and petitions to authorities and consistently pointed out that he was in no way anti-socialist or anti-Soviet. In July, 1966, he served a sentence of three months for refusing to testify at a closed political trial. While in prison, serving a second eighteen-month sentence, allegedly for "spreading anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation", he wrote the following statement in a letter to friends:

"I categorically state, contrary to all illogical assertions . . . that I have always firmly adhered to the principles of socialism and continue to do so. But not of that socialism that tries to regiment not merely the actions, but also the thoughts of individuals. I cannot imagine true socialism without guaranteed democratic freedoms, without the widest political and economic self-government of all the cells of the state organism down to and including the smallest, without a real guarantee and not merely a paper one — of the rights of all nations within a multi-national state."

According to reliable sources, Vyacheslav Chornovil was sentenced in February, 1973, to seven years of hard labour and five years exile under Article 62 of the Criminal Code of the Ukrainian SSR, again allegedly for "spreading anti-Soviet propaganda and agitation".

Dzyuba and Chornovil are only two among hundreds who have been incarcerated in the past year for opposing the anti-democratic and Russifying policies of the bureaucracy. These people appealed for a return to the Leninist principle of the right of nations to self-determination, for greater democratization of social and political life, and for social equality. Since 1959 there has been a revival of discussion and activity in the Soviet Union on important social and political questions. This has expressed itself not only in literary activity, but also in petitions and public statements signed by students, workers and intellectuals, protesting the illegality of actions against those who are outspoken in criticizing the regime. It has expressed itself in factory strikes throughout the Soviet Union (in Kiev and Moscow) over wage demands, housing conditions and food prices.

In 1960, the clandestine Ukrainian Workers' and Peasants' Union in its programme, included a call to end the "curtailment of the rights of trade unions, whose leaders had become the best tools of the managers in violating socialist democracy", the democratization of the "Soviets of workers' deputies" and a radical improvement in the lot of the peasantry.

WALTER CHANDON

"I'll only warn you once more. . "

In pointing out that it is the accusers, not the accused who are the enemies of socialism in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe today, we appeal to those in the West who fight for social justice and true democracy. Without a broad international defense of Dzyuba and Chornovil and their fellow socialists, they will continue to be persecuted and imprisoned by the authorities.

The defense of those who struggle for justice should not be limited in any way by state boundaries. We must defend the oppressed in other countries as we defend the oppressed in our own. Progressive people throughout the world must voice their opposition to the actions taken against Dzyuba and Chornovil and against the Stalinist methods of repression in Ukraine and throughout the Soviet Union as a whole. We must organize the support for their demands that they themselves are unable to organize.

Actions are being organized in North America and Europe to provide a basis for a principled defense of these political prisoners.

Support the struggle of Dzyuba and Chornovil and those who struggle for socialism in the Soviet Union by demanding their immediate release!

COMMITTEE IN DEFENSE OF
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For more information contact: CDSPP, P.O. Box 294, Station "M", Toronto 21, Ontario.

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WAGONS OF PARADE

A parade of outcasts
with their haunting problems
stretches along the sand
— a permanent phenomenon —
to be ambiguously accepted
by our serene gazings.

Their chameleon nature
flinches at
the ritual boundary
of our senses,
transcends
the mobile pattern
of our touch,
and huddles together, again;
for there is a security
in the familiar,
safety in the numbers
on the dial —
as the red needle passes quickly
from zero to one hundred
and the wagons of parade
confront the thunderstorm
that has yet to begin.

May 22, 1969
Ihor Sychylo

JANUARY 1972 SATURDAY NIGHT

THROUGH THE MYSTERIES OF WESTERN RESENTMENT

BY MYRNA KOSTASH

CONTINUED FROM THE MARCH ISSUE

When you come into Peace River, you suddenly drop — from the barley fields, the stations of the Peace River pipeline like so many post-war Canadian stations of the cross, the abandoned Texaco gas pumps, the shabby community halls of community-less towns, the propane tanks in weedy yards, the bright blue houses built in memory of an unseen suburb, the dusty avenues without trees, the diners through which the towns plug into the life of the highways — you drop away from this into the deep, green, smoky, rolling valley of the Peace. The people in the town tell us that the water in the river is much lower than it used to be. Not because there hasn't been rain, God knows, but because Bennett has damned it upstream in B.C. As one consequence, the Indians and Metis downstream from the dam have seen their fishing economy and independent culture collapse in front of their faces. In a hotel bar in town, a Metis barman waves the peace sign at us as we go out.

The little grave of unmarked white crosses and a picket fence which overlooks the Peace is the grave of unknown Indians. Beside the grave is the Centennial Museum which holds a collection of found objects representing a heritage only as remote as our grandparents' lives. A wooden walking plough, a kerosene lamp, a flat iron, a copper kettle and a Jasper Mountain washboard manufactured by Western Broom and Woodenware Ltd. And, as if in reference to the graves outside the doors, some souvenirs of those who used to live here and live no more this way. Blackfoot mocassins, Cree snowshoes, a Slave belt, an Athapascan game bag. They say the Peace got its name from a meeting of the Beaver and the Cree on the warpath at its waters. Instead of war, however, they sat down together and promulgated a peace treaty. This event preceded the coming of the white man.

It seems that those who come from the cities to live in Peace River are people who grew up here and moved away. Another kind of newcomer is the American expatriate: some ex-schoolteachers from the States live now on a communal farm near Dixonville. They are reportedly doing fine. At least, they survived last winter. There's a businessman in town who organizes the local theatre group and writes some of their plays. Slapstick comedy stuff. The RCMP headquarters for the region are in Peace River and smoking dope is still the worst thing you can do. If only the cops could find where the stuff is stashed. In the meantime, most of the busts are for illegal possession of booze.

Some people up from Edmonton are presenting a mini-fair and there are goods for sale. Leather and bead work, candles, graphics, jewellery. A fifteen-year old in white t-shirt, jeans and wheat hair asks what you do with incense sticks. Then he buys some.

There are farmers and farmers. There are those who belong to the National Farmers' Union who combine an earth-born conservatism — as in their resistance to corporation-owned farming operations and their appeal to the Alberta government that the family farm be maintained as the "dominant food producer in our country." This together with a tradition of left-wing radicalism which knows a capitalist when it sees one.

Litton Industries and Notlonol Farm Stores have recently signed an agreement whereby Litton will become involved in the establishment of a nation-wide chain of agribusiness shopping centres. Litton Industries, tox-gulping, death-deoling mother of conglomerate corporations, paragon of the military-industrial complex, paramour of Greek fascism ond paradigm of the corporate state.
— from a NFU, Edmonton,

And the farmer who, in his mistrust of governmental manipulations would sooner support the free-enterprising interests of Social Credit than the socialistic designs of the NDP. If nothing else, Social Credit is an Albertan party. In his alienation from the self-serving policies of the national parties, from the needs of politicians representing the interests of Eastern industry, from bureaucrats in Ottawa who determine which way his livelihood will go, the right-wing farmer is just as radical as the man on the left.

Don Freeland, twenty-eight, farmer and lawyer, used to be a supporter of the NDP while he was studying at the University of Alberta. Now he owns and works a farm near Peace River, lives in a house he built himself, and handles the insurance, loans and land claims of local businesmen. In the recent provincial election, he did everything he could to support Harry Strom's government as the only acceptable alternative to the NDP. He believes in "free enterprise, the market economy and a free society" and, as he surveys his rapeseed crop and his herd of beef cattle, he says that only "the market" can decide what these are worth. Like some immutable principle of justice, "the market" guarantees him his rights whereas "socialism" would jeopardize them. "The NDP would hire thirty PhD's at $20,000 a year, set up a committee and hand out pronouncements on the price of pork." He claims that only small, unsuccessful farmers, the ones the banks call "deadbeats," are attracted to the NDP and the NFU. Successful men like himself thrive in a competitive economy.

But not thriving well enough, apparently. Thanks to the exploitative policies of Ottawa. Billions of dollars are removed yearly from Alberta in the form of taxes and increased prices while the direct benefit to Albertans from the federal government is only $200-million (the 1968 figures). What happens to the rest of the billion? "Albertans' money is used to support a huge bureaucracy and local industry in Ontario. As though it were better for us to support Ford in Ontario and Henry Ford's rich, European wife than to trade our coal for Datsuns, say."

Freeland favours a republic of Western provinces. He would even favour admission to the United States, if only to be exploited more efficiently and with greater personal benefit (better wages and lower costs) by American capitalists than by the Canadian variety. This is a popular sentiment among Albertans: a resignation, almost, to the facts of economic life. We're going to be ripped-off in any case, so let's at least exact the greatest price." The pattern of mismanagement from Ottawa and capitulation to corporate interests has been so long with the farmer and the small businessman — even the UFA and Social Credit could not save them — that it no longer seems credible that you can take control of your own life.

Only a couple of miles out of Edmonton, on the road to Jasper, and you are already smack in the middle of the woody hills that press around the edges of the city. A kind of war at a standstill between the chaotic grassland and the civilized bankers with the soil-tillers caught in the middle. This is a region of the small family farm that the NDP and NFU want to save from the clutches of big business, from the idea of farming as a corporate industry and not, as it is held to be by city kids, an art. What the farmers themselves believe their lives to be is more mysterious in the sense that they have never been asked. Just another one of those stories of a regional history superceded by the needs of a nationstate. All that I had to go on, speeding along Highway 16, was that, as the original wooden frame farmhouses collapsed unpainted, unfixed and still mortgaged, the families moved a few feet away into a new stucco house with a shingle roof. Stubbornly insisting that by anybody's definition a farmer lives on his land and works it.

Not much farther into the hills are the gas flames and the "donkeys" doggedly pumping up pure gold. Underneath the starving farms runs a billion dollars in oil and who is getting rich?

The Coal Branch of Alberta lies south-west of Hinton along the tracks of ghost towns. Once they took millions of tons out of the belly of the Rocky Mountains and life in the coal towns, aside from the hours underground and the coal dust diseases, was all right. There was a theatre and music lessons and a skating rink, good neighbours and a steady job, for when would the world run out of coal? Then the railroads switched to diesel engines and one by one the towns closed down with everybody scattering for better jobs in bigger towns.

Luscar no longer exists. Where there was once a hotel, a bar, a baseball diamond and houses with a kitchen-window view to beautiful Mt. Luscar, there is now simply a coal strip-mining operation, digging coal for the Japanese. The town has not revived. The workers drive in from Hinton twenty miles away over a forestry road and then drive back. Commuters don't build towns.

Mountain park no longer exists. The old pits are flooded and fish swim there. A lush spread of grass grows over where the foundations of houses were dug. The citizens were made to fill them in before they left. Yellow and orange poppies still grow from seeds of vanished gardens. Curiously, the cemetery is kept in good order, for those who were not able to die here but want to be buried, all the same, on the slope.

Cadomin exists, barely. A few hangers-on to the limestone quarry operation which has sliced off the top and one side of Mt. Leyland. A dusty, treeless, cheerless town flooded every now and then by the McLeod River and clinging to community with the remains of lives and log houses. Abandoned homes which used to sell for fifty dollars sell now for $3,500 to Edmontonians looking for funky summer houses. Capitalists and the petit bourgeoisie with leisure time getting off on a coalminer's last stand.

Hinton is a company town. North West Pulp and Power. One hundred per cent American owned. Leasing 3,000 square miles plus reserve. There is a stench in the air that you eventually get used to. Some students say that the mill isn't a polluting agent. It's gas stations which dump oil and grease and it's Jasper, upstream, which dumps untreated sewage. In any case, it isn't the mill; and the Youth Action group's ecology projects are to pick up litter from the ditches by the highway, to clean up the woods after American hunters and to organize a coffee house in a bowling alley. Someone wants to "blow this town apart" with theatre imported from Edmonton. Well, anything to get the kids into something more than drinking, trashing and walking the highway.

When I mentioned nationalization of North West Pulp, all the kids laughed. Everybody's job and/or security depends on the mill. "Listen, the mill isn't even talked about here. It's been around so long no one even notices it. Even the town council, if it isn't satisfied with pollution controls, can't do much. The company would say they've already spent 10 or 12 millions and, anyway, they are well within the guidelines set by the provincial government. They'd need a bigger threat than the town council to get them to do anything." "If you want to live well, you work at the mill." "If the union said to the mill, you've got to clean up the pollution or we'll strike, the company would close the mill and tell them to go to hell. There are hundreds to replace the workers here." "NDP and Canadian independence don't mean much to me. I've got a good job here."

Western separatism may or may not be the political wave of the future and, anyway, its future isn't nearly so interesting as its present. It is instructive to note that Maclean's thinks the West is girding itself for battle ("The West is Ready to Revolt"), Kildare Dobbs is amused by the idea and Donald Peacock, writing from Calgary, is worried that somebody Down East may take separatists seriously. It is instructive that Easterners sensationalize or, conversely, ridicule the issue while the Westerner feels nervous. The one patronizes by inflating or deflating, the other acquiesces by apologizing for the notion that Confederation is an inequitable arrangement. French-speaking Marxist rebels are one thing, assimilated sons and daughters of grateful refugees living off the fatted calf of Standard Oil are something else. Both Easterner and Westerner operate within a colonial relationship by equally rejecting the credibility of the complaint.

Especially because they reject for all the wrong reasons. One wants to know whose interest separatism would really serve when it is assistants to the ex-premier and an ex-minister who are making all the fuss. Are the people of Alberta served any better by capitalists in Edmonton than by same in Toronto or Dallas? Was a Social Credit government any more sensitive to the needs of a farmer in High Prairie than Ottawa was to the needs of Alberta? Does anybody lead a better, more just life when only the arena of exploitation is changed and not the economic relationships of a society? Would a separate government be separate very long from the urgent requirements of American industry for Alberta's pathetically cheap resources? Could it be true, as Mel Hurtig of the Committee for an Independent Canada suggests, that the Western separatism is a plot on the part of multi-national corporate interests to keep Canada unstable in order to prevent the emergence of a strong central authority?

There are some offices above CHED radio station just south of Jasper Avenue. Everything is painted grisly green, there are a few desks and chairs, papers are stacked along the wall, Right On posters hang here and there and outside on the street families in Klondike Days dress wander disconsolately in the drizzle. This is the Task Force on Urbanization and the Future. Peter Boothroyd, director.

Boothroyd wrote an essay in the recent collection of reports, The Unlinished Revolt (McClelland & Stewart), which outlines some of the West's unfinished business in Confederation. He is the only contributor to have pointed out that decentralization of federal institutions doesn't mean very much if power itself is not also decentralized. The individual isn't necessarily any better off under a local elite than under a national one. In all the cloudy fuss about oppression from the East, where are the men and women from the Liberation Front? The equivalent, in the West, of rebels who know that the only fight worth conducting against federal authority is the revolution for cultural autonomy and social justice?

As Boothroyd says, Alberta is an even more logical place for such a revolution than is Quebec, given its political history: "There have been radical analyses and aspirations in the past. Starting with Riel and going through the Progressives, the UFA, CCF and Social Credit, you see a combined interest in shaking off Eastern domination and in administering social justice in the territories." Aside from all the economic and political grievances, sheer distance between the centre and the regions is probably the single most sensational factor in the Westerner's complaint of alienation from Ottawa. All the other forms of alienation may be only functions of geographic distance. "When all the decisions are made 'out there' with no effective way existing to control the decision, when these decisions seem to be taken invariably in favour of big-city interests way past Winnipeg, the oppression seems real enough." And, of course, the quality of the decision is modified negatively by the fact that the institution is thousands of miles from the specific human situation.

It is not to be wondered at that Albertans have fierce, concrete, multiple images of Ontario and the big-time operators. They are inundated with their message and their propaganda. Louis Riel was never so vividly real as Daniel Boone, nor the coolies who built the CPR as admirable as the gentlemen in frock coats who made a lot of money. The media in Canada are structured so that most of the information is dispersed from Toronto out to the regions with only a trickle moving in the reverse direction to educate the Toronto producer and consumer in the realities of the provinces.

What do the Eastern image-makers imagine the West to be when they are sent out to Saskatoon, over the weekend, on a $20,000 budget with only a sense of their own sophistication and a desire to bring some culture to the outback to guide them through the mysteries of Western resentment? In 1971, CBC sent out Norman Depoe to Alberta (there are no articulate people in Alberta?) to tell the nation about the provincial election, to probe the psyche of a crazy politics. In 1935, when Social Credit was first elected, reporters from the Eastern papers sat in the press gallery, laughing their heads off. "Upstart populists," "bunch of farmers" fumbling with parliamentary procedure. Except that Social Credit became respectable, what is the difference between the laughing newspapermen and the inquisitive camera crew? Were there any new ways in which the latter looked at what was going down in a featureless prairie town? Where were the Albertan myth-makers to take their own story out of the heads of well-meaning imposters?

John Hart, director of Canadian Studies at the Grant McEwan Community College in Edmonton, is one of the people assembling the True History of the West: he's in a position to know. Born in Stettler, educated in Alberta, he specialized in Western Canadian history at the University of Calgary (and learned about job opportunities there through the London Times). The story of the West, not as told by civil servants in the Colonial Office, nor by pundits at Eastern universities, nor even by "colourful characters" in Western saloons. But by Westerners armed with a radical critique and a sense of timeliness.

In all the hoo-ha about Social Credit and "funny money" (but who can believe that the soul of Alberta belongs to the Progressive Conservatives?), in all the jokes about incipient fascism and pig nation, who knew that the founding convention of the Canadian Wobblies was held in Calgary, that a self-declared Marxist was elected to the legislature in 1932, that there are still loyal Bolsheviks in the coal mines of Alberta? "The Ginger Group of the UFA was consistently the most socialist group in Canada."

continued on page 8.

NEW DIRECTIONS

NEW DIRECTIONS is a Ukrainian student magazine put out by young people in New York, which has caused quite a stir in the Ukrainian community recently. A satirical article on Dobosh in the last issue of NEW DIRECTIONS led to threats to the magazine's advertisers and to a series of altercations ending with the thumping of the editor. The editorial board, it seems, defends itself by explaining that to be negative is not necessarily to be destructive. Myroslav Shkandry interviewed Fred Siemon, a representative of NEW DIRECTIONS. The following points emerged:

Question: You seem to be ploughing up the ground, yet you have been criticised as being negative. Do you try to include constructive articles?

Answer: The ground needs ploughing. Who can plant new ideas in hard packed ground? We could tell Ukrainians what a wonderful job they are doing in community affairs and social work and perhaps such things as how we enjoyed SVOBODA's accuracy in reporting on the last Washington demonstration, but we would be lying. So we will continue to have some articles by people who see the need for change in the Great Ukrainian Institutions, even though these Institutions themselves deal with the writer's criticism by calling us anti-Ukrainian, communists and hot-headed rebels.

Ukrainians have yet to realize that to criticize something, you have to care about it. The authors care enough about the UNA, UCCA, SVOBODA, PLAST, SUM, and the church to want to see them become more responsive to the needs of the Ukrainian community rather than paralyzed by petty politics or gloating with grandiose dreams of some day marching into Kiev hailed as liberators.

So you see, there is nothing negative about caring. In fact we realize that criticising an organization causes more solidarity among the members, and hopefully it will be a solidarity of people who are aware of the problems in the community, which includes an increasing alienation of young people who find that involvement in older Ukrainian organizations to be totally meaningless.

I would say that some of the readers who criticise us are caring people, who in a traditional Ukrainian manner view things only in black and white. They hear about or may even read an article with which they disagree, and then they proceed with a rather infantile temper tantrum, overlooking the fact that three quarters of the articles we print deal with the community, humor, interviews with interesting creative people, Yevtushenko, a youth poll, photo essays, art, artists and other topics.

Question: What sort of backlash have you been getting from the Ukrainian community in New York?

Answer: Well, at twelve o'clock mass at St. George, the priest vehemently denounced us. Occasionally while selling the magazine, a red faced man will come up to us screaming about how we are destroying Ukrainian society. And Alex was having a two hour discussion with a young fellow in Chicago on how negative is related to positive, when the young fellow suddenly floored him. We have a first hand report that two men went into Surma in N.Y.C. and threatened the owner with a community boycott if the store didn't stop selling NEW DIRECTIONS. The two men were flatly turned down because the majority of the store's clientele is non-Ukrainian. You can see the obvious implications.

Mostly the tactic of the press has been to ignore us as much as possible. They obviously realize that by coming face to face with the issues and discussing the points that we raise, gives us the exposure that may increase our sales — and that they do not want. An interesting fact is that Chris Lukomsky, while still editor of NEW DIRECTIONS was approached by SVOBODA to work for them in producing a student magazine. More recently, SVOBODA approached Andrij Chomilewsky, who tried to get my "co-operation" and then speaking of the Hromoda computerized mailing list whispered, "I'll give you mine if you'll give me yours." His is 500 and ours is 5000.

Question: Are you moving towards any kind of policy for the magazine?

Answer: We already have a professional looking magazine, now we have to make more of an effort to increase circulation and subscriptions. We have as you say, "ploughed the ground", and made free speech possible, so now we will move toward more analytical articles. We want to increase communication between Canadian and American Ukrainians so that each can learn from the other's problems and experiences.

Question: How do you define the community that you serve? What are the common denominators?

Answer: The community varies. For example in New York and Chicago the average person is closer geographically to the big Ukrainian organizations and therefore express a more conservative opinion, while Ukrainians in outlying areas seem to be more free to relate to news of what is happening around them. But where you find more conservatism you will find more radicals, so there will be a greater difference of opinion between people in large cities and less of a difference in the outlying areas. The common denominators we find are caring and drinking.

Conclusion

As emerged from the interview, the problems NEW DIRECTIONS faces are considerable. When asked why there is a lack of articles in the Ukrainian language, Fred Siemon answered that proof reading in Ukrainian is difficult, good Ukrainian writers are hard to find and typesetting in Ukrainian is expensive. Then there is also the problem of the shallowness of a purely journalistic technique (i.e. article in NEW DIRECTIONS entitled, "The Ten Most-Powerful or Powerfool?") which leads to ambiguities and misunderstandings of the editors' motives. The last remark made by Fred in the interview clearly exemplifies this.

Question: People have said that you are communists. What political positions would you say the majority of your members hold?

Answer: Would you believe that Alex is a NKVD agent, Adrian a Maoist and I a fascist CIA pig? Or would you believe that Alex is a plow, Adrian a horse and I a bottle of vodka?

reprinted from NEW DIRECTIONS (SPRING 1973)

Роман Бабовал: ПОДОРОЖ ПОЗА ФОРМИ

Поезія, Видавництво Нью-Йоркської Групи, обкладинка і графічні ілюстрації: Аркадії Оленської-Петришин, 72 сторінки.

Найновіша збірка поезій молодого студента-поета, Романа Бабовала з Бельгії надзвичайно цікава та захоплююча. Не менш цікаве її мистецьке оформлення — праця Аркадії Петришин. Хоч графіка не завжди відповідає змістові віршів, вона завжди згідна з настроєм поезії. Самотні дерева, пишна зелень і білий місяць віддзеркалюють теми поезії: кохання, самоти, тривкого щастя, стремління до поетичних висот.

Багатство чаруючих метафор та порівнянь, які окреслювали Р. Бабовала майбутнім поетом ще коли він дописував до "Юнака", виразно помітне в його збірці "Навіщо про це згадую?", яку поет видав своїм коштом. В його найновішій збірці постійно помітна фантастична уява поста.

книжки заснпані пилюкою сумлінь
хмарн мов спросоння белемоти спраглі
мій палець встряг рододендром
в душу неба
змайструй меиі з цеглин і глнни
мила
вигідие забуття і поцілуй
перед прощанням
змайструй мені високу вежу
самоти

В своїй найновішій збірці поезій, Р. Бабовал доводнть, що він є поет модерніст. Сам заголовок книжки: "Подорож поза межі" пророчнть рід віршів. Тут немає ні рими, ні назв, ні велнких букв, кропок чн ком. Р. Бабовал користується тією самою формою писання віршів, яку В. Голобородько так успішно ужив у своїй збірці "Летюче віконце", і яку І. Калинець впровадив у "Коронованню опудала". Модериа поезія є дуже вибачлива, а з нею і поезія Р. Бабовала. Читач мусить пильно, досить повільно читатн ці коротенькі вірші, наповненні змістом. Читач сам мусить вставляти знакн оклику, крапки, коми тощо. Лише зміст вірша і його чутлнве сприйняття підкаже йому, як і де він має це зробити.

Хоч модерна поезія не має контрольоваиої здисцнплінованої музики рими, в ній є внутрішня музнка слів. Поети-модерністи звертають велнку уяву на добір слів, і тому в модерній поезії можна знайти багатство асоиансів та алітерації. В поезії Р. Бабовала також прекрасні звукописи, які підкреслюють настрій і значеиня вірша, ось наприклад, вірш число 10:

чн
білі камінці вигрібували з-під мурави
на згадку мимоволі прогайнованих
років
иа небі голуби стелили сиві смугина
стіиі жоржини проковтнувши паперове
сонце рожевіли
мов п'ястуки посиулих

в казці иемовлят

Або коротенький вірш число 54

над нами
відгомони землетрусів
вижидаиня пташних пожеж
над нами
гліві хмари комашні

Світосприймання поета завжди романтичне і егоцентричне, більшість віршів, говорячи про переживання поета, вживає "я" або, рідше, обмежене "ми". Це також модерна тенденція. У великому змеханізованому, байдужому до неї місті, людина примушеиа шукати притулку в природі, в релігії, або в своїй власній фаитазії. А. Р. Бабовал, здається, знайшов цей притулок у фантазії.

Ірина Макарик

TRUTH FINDS SECRET ARMY CAMP

HEY KIDS! If you are interested in joining a secret army camp designed for the purpose of training young terrorists, then come to Melbourne, Australia (the cost of a one-way ticket from Toronto to Melbourne is only $803.90). Drop your bourgeois amusements and come play with guns and grenades. Rumour has it that the members of this terrorist group are planning to overthrow Soviet rule in Ukraine. If you have the time and or the inclination towards this type of community work, then read on.

The following article is reprinted from an Australian newspaper, the Melbourne Truth, dated April 21, 1973.

The camp belongs to the Union ot Ukrainian Youth. This is the training arm of the secret Ukrainian Insurgent Army, or UPA, which is dedicated to the overthrow of Soviet rule in the Ukraine.

Investigations are now being made by the Federal Attorney-General's Department, the Commonwealth police and the Victorian special branch.

The camp, on 10 acres, has extensive facilities for military training — including a weapons range.

Truth investigated the Ukrainian Insurgent Army after discovering the training camp in forest country bordering the Acheron River, three miles south of the small logging township of Buxton.

Following revelations of Ustasha terrorism, people in and near Buxton became fearful when they heard stories of secret military training in their district.

★ *THIS sign reads "One hundred Lastivka". Lastivka is Ukrainian for swallows; the word used by the Ukrainian Insurgent Army for its female guerrillas.*

ENTRANCE arch with boom barrier and guard house. The signs read Union of Ukranian Youth Carpathian Settlement, and To the Heroes of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army 1942-1972.

Truth was told that during the Christmas holidays about 200 people arrived at the camp site and vanished into the forest.

Squads of "heavies" in four-wheel-drive vehicles patrolled the perimeter of the camp site to discourage the curious.

One man said he was using a chain-saw to cut firewood when a four-wheel-drive vehicle drove up.

Four tough-looking men got out and surrounded him.

They stood silently with their arms folded, staring at him.

His nerve broke and he packed up his chain-saw and went away.

When Truth investigators visited the camp they found the main entrance fortified by two barricades and a locked gate in the bush just off the Maroondah Highway.

Farther down the access track was a barrier of logs with an attached guard house.

Signs read: Private Property, Keep Out and Trespassers Prosecuted.

Truth was told that sounds of gunfire, muffled by the dense bush, were heard from the camp.

Locals who managed to penetrate the security screen and sneak a glimpse inside told Truth they saw young people in grey uniforms marching and drilling.

Locals warned the Truth investigators to beware of booby traps when approaching the camp.

The Truth men stole through the bush along a barred-off road that became disused after the Maroondah Highway was straightened.

They climbed through barbed wire on the outskirts of the camp and made their way to the banks of the Acheron.

Their first discovery was a weapons range.

TARGETS

Empty cans, used as targets, were slung between the trees.

The cans were pierced with bullet holes, but there was no sign of empty cartridge shells to indicate what sort of weapons were used or their calibre.

The site was deserted, but there was clear evidence of tents that had been pitched in orderly rows, typical of a military encampment.

Signs on the trees were written in Ukrainian language in the Cyrillic alphabet.

Truth photographed the signs and later had them translated.

Permanent toilets were scattered through the trees, and by a bend in the river, Truth found a well-built permanent drill hall and a separate canteen.

There was a soccer field, a basketball pitch, and near the drill hall, a parade ground had been cleared.

At one end, four saplings served as flag poles.

Several smaller buildings completed the nucleus of permanent structures in the heart of the camp.

A sign on one of them translated as Camp Commandant.

On the main access track leading back to the Maroonah Highway Truth examined the heavy barrier arch of logs which had a counter-weighted boom gate.

Signs in Cyrillic lettering surmounting the arch translated into English as the initials of Union of Ukrainian Youth, Carpathian Settlement.

Another sign read "To the heroes of the UPA" (Ukrainian Insurgent Army) and bore the dates 1942-1972.

The sign commemorated the 30th anniversary of the Ukrainian rebellion under General Roman Schukhevych Chuprynka.

The general was killed in a clash with Soviet security forces in the Ukraine in 1950.

The UPA states its aims as the overthrow — by means including armed rebellion — of Soviet rule in the Ukraine and the establishment of an independent Ukrainian state.

TERRORISTS

The ambitions of the UPA for the Ukraine are parallel to those of the Croatian terrorist organisation Ustasha, which seeks the overthrow by military means of Yugoslav rule in Croatia.

The Ukrainian Insurgent Army is affiliated with Ustasha through an international revolutionary organisation with headquarters in Munich, West Germany, and known as the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations. Truth, through the Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, traced UPA's affiliations with Ustasha.

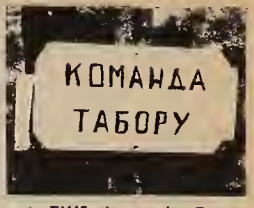
The Anti-Bolshevik Bloc of Nations, or ABN, publishes from Munich, a bi-monthly bulletin circulating in many languages.

The issue of September-October last year is devoted to the 39th anniversary of the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and the armed rebllion it waged through the 1940s.

The same issue contains the anti-Tito propaganda article by Dr. Adrijia Ilic. Ilic, wanted for war crimes in Yugoslavia during the regime of the Hitlerite puppet, Ante Pavelic, now lives in Argentina.

He is world vice-chairman of Ustasha.

More than 4000 Ukrainians have settled in Victoria, according to the 1971 census. It is not known how many are actively involved in the Ukrainian Insurgent Army and its offshoots.



★ *THIS sign reads: Camp Commandant. People who live in and near Buxton became afraid when they heard stories of secret military training.*

WESTERN RESENTMENT

continued from page 6.

But they overplayed it. Before the 1935 election, they mentioned nationalization of the land. Exeunt, all good socialists. "Farmers are radical to the extent that they understand something is profoundly wrong but, when it comes to nationalizing them, they back off. 'Nationalize the railroad, confiscate the finance companies—beautiful—but let me keep the deed to my land."

The irony is that he is mortgaged to the hilt, he has no control over the products of his labour, and the deed to his land is just a pretty piece of paper. It is for these reasons that the CCF concluded, importantly, that the farmer is not a bourgeois. But it was William ("Bible Bill") Aberhart and Social Credit who capitalized on that observation. They ran a campaign that cleverly combined the anti-Communist bias of the farmer with a denunciation of the godless and exploitative practices of big, Eastern financial institutions and private industry. Since then, radicalism on the left in Alberta has been confined to enclaves of first-generation proletarian die-hards, second-generation teachers and third-generation smart-ass university students. The rest of the province continues to be profoundly rural if for no other reason than that "there is no real middle class here, only petit bourgeois; the real bourgeoisie is in Toronto and the States."

On the farms and in the small towns, right-wing radicalism links up with what Hart calls "nativism": the close identification with the land, with the setting of experience. It is impossible for strangers to identify with this and so you don't trust them. This is my home. This is my land, because I homesteaded it. I own it. The stranger, even if he is only from Ontario, has only a temporary or ulterior interest in the land. At best, the stranger is indifferent.

Which explains, somewhat, why Americans are not seen as strangers here but Easterners and Quebeckers are. "We have a lot of Americans in Alberta who are very appealing people. Open and friendly. All the more since they tend to come from the West and mid-West. We understand each other, we share experiences. Whereas we are never sure if Easterners think of us in any way besides as hillbillies. As for French Canadians, they are equated with the FLQ and the FLQ is equated with the Third World revolution. Violence, bloodshed, treachery." The paradox is that Westerners should be able to identify with Quebec separatism, experiencing as they do the same kind of political, industrial and cultural imperialism from the East. Intellectually, the Westerner does accept the identification. But at gut-level, you've got to be born under the sign of the Big Sky and in God's Own Acre to understand the desperate beauty of the West.

It is always hard to go back to Toronto. The memories of it never change: the chauvinists with briefcases, the double-breasted dudes on King Street West; the sun blotted out on Bloor Street; the long, paranoid walk down the Bathurst subway station; the depressing search for decent rooms in Cabbagetown; the line-up, with schlock food, at Dominion's; the index of air pollution in the Daily Star, the watchful faces of hustlers in from other cities. Is this really the only way, the only place we can make it?

When you move around a lot, there is no special region that can command your allegiance for long. Each new place has its own claim on your sensibilities and if it's beauty or peace or resolution you're looking for, a pile of Greek rocks or a Spanish market or a Californian highway will do equally well. Take your pick. Until the day you want to go home. Where? Take your pick.

Yes, but home requires a different dedication. Different from that of the wandering aesthete or the ambitious patriot. It is the will and the faith of the sentimentalist who believes his home is where his imagination is rooted. The place/ time/ climate that gave him his first catalogue of images against which each new sensation is measured.

It is damn hard to go back to Toronto. From the enormous space of the prairies to the grudging tunnels of downtown streets. From the spectacular roundabout of seasons to a sticky summer and foul winter. From a borscht of exclamations and Waspish schemes. From a memory of a country of unbounded melancholy to a future in a city of predictable pleasure.

It occurs to me that if more people were to go back home, landscapes like that of Alberta would perforce contribute more to a collective Canadian fantasy. A fantasy which would look less like the view from the Royal York and more like the crooked trail of the Metis in their flight from the RCMP.

She says, sitting in Toronto.

ASSIMILATION AMONG UKRAINIAN-CANADIAN STUDENTS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF TORONTO

(A Study Conducted by Maria Zaputovich, 1971-1972)

It was with some trepidation that I undertook this study in my final undergraduate year in Social Anthropolgy, Firstly because field work is usually a 'moment of truth' for an anthropologist and secondly, because I realized I would react emotionally to my data. The latter reason is why budding anthropologists are usually discouraged from working with their own ethnic group. It simply is too hard to remain objective and emotionally uninvolved. Nevertheless, the project was finally undertaken and I would like to share the results with you, the students who participated in it.

I intended to gather my information with a questionnaire and did so, but I now realize that this was my biggest mistake. Anthropologists work in a more intimate manner than do sociologists. Contact is usually face-to-face and in the form of verbal communication. I was not adept at formulating a questionnaire (an art in itself) and I found that much ambiguity resulted in trying to define results that could certainly have been eliminated had I interviewed my subjects personally. In retrospect I think I was trying to avoid personal contact, no doubt because of my submergent anxieties. Still, I did obtain some results from a not very scientific study, which, because they were corroborated by similar studies in the United States and Canada, bear a certain authenticity. I will not go into detail as to the wording of my questionnaire or my method of analysis but will rather give you my interpretation of the data.

I began my presentation with an exerpt by O. Handlin (Slavs in Canada, Inter-University Committee on Canadian Slavs, Edmonton, 1966) which very movingly portrayed the poignancy which must have been felt by our ancestors who first embarked on that momentous voyage to a strange and distant land which was to be our birthplace.

"He who turned his back upon the village at the crossroads began a long journey that his mind would forever mark as its most momentous experience. The crossing immediately subjected the immigrant to a succession of shattering shocks and decisively conditioned the life of every man that survived it. This was the initial contact with life as it was to be. For many peasants it was the first time away from home, away from the relative safety of the circumscribed little village in which they had passed all their years. Now they would learn to have dealings with people essentially different from themselves. Now they would collide with unaccustomed problems, learn to understand alien ways and alien languages, manage to survive in a grossly foreign environment." (p. 38)

As most of us are aware of the three waves of immigration of Ukrainians and the origin of their impetus it will not be necessary for me to comment on this fact. I had my own ideas on what factor contributed to assimilation. I believed that length of generational resisdence in Canada would show a greater assimilation with correspondingly longer residence. I further thought that girls would be slower in assimilating rather than boys. I thought that the education of the parents would either slow or accelerate the assimilation of their children, and finally, I felt that emotional involvement (love of our culture, especially our music) would retard assimilation. This latter factor was, albeit difficult to measure, a pet theory of mine. It was Ukrainian music which appealed to all my instincts very early in my conversion back to Ukrainianism. Only later was I able to feel a similar deep sense of identity with Ukrainians and our history.

There were 53 female subjects and 21 male subjects involved in this study. I classified them into Foreign-born, 1st generation (those whose parents came to Canada), 2nd generation (those whose parents were born in Canada), and third generation (those whose grandparents were born in Canada). There were only three female subjects who fell into this latter category of 3rd generation. I measured assimilation in terms of use of the Ukrainian language to parents, brothers and sisters, and finally friends. I also measured assimilation in terms of their desire to maintain their Ukrainian identity, (how important it was to them).

One outstanding factor which emerged was an unexpected one for me in that it was the males who were more resistant to assimilation in regard to the criteria used above. Foreign-born males did not speak English to their parents nor to their brothers or sisters (but one male said he spoke German to his brothers and sisters!). Foreign-born girls, however, were split in speaking English and Ukrainian to their parents.

The first signs of definite assimilation begin in the first generation (born in Canada) and the point of contact invariably is the tendency to speak English with friends. In the second generation, this had invariably been extended to brothers and sisters (and many in the 1st generation have begun to speak English with brothers and sisters also). Once again, boys were more resistant (as measured in percentages) than the girls to speaking English either with friends, or brothers and sisters, in both the first and second generations. By the third generation, the three female subjects were speaking English to parents as well as all others.

This tendency for language patterns to change with friends and brothers and sisters is corroborated by a study of Fishman's in the United States. (Joshua Fishman, Sociolinguistics). It is felt that because these people share the same formal environment (schools) monolingualism begins to appear here. Fishman says: "Ultimately, the language of school and government replaces the language of home and neighborhood precisely because it provides status in the latter domain as well (p. 83)". I would add to this, that it also involves shared learning and cultural experiences.

I had believed that if parents were of low education that children would speak Ukrainian to them rather than if the parents had a high education. I was simply using my own experience here where my parents spoke English only haltingly and I was forced to speak Ukrainian (such as it was) to them. With the boys in my study, however, the situation was reversed and boys whose parents had a high education spoke Ukrainian to them. With girls the situation was split almost equally, and it seemed to make no difference to them if the parents had a high or low education — about half of the girls spoke Ukrainian and half spoke English.

With regard to the feeling of emotional involvement (as measured in love of singing, and Ukrainian music) coupled with a self-appraisal of feeling of Ukrainian identity; here the results were very remarkable. Again the boys overwhelmingly led the girls. Those boys who loved Ukrainian music, etc. and had a strong sense of Ukrainian identity were consistent in every other aspect: speaking Ukrainian to parents, brothers and sisters, etc. Most remarkable was the positive correlation between a feeling of strong Ukrainian identity and deep love of Ukrainian culture. There were few passive responses from boys, quite a few from girls.

I had asked for general comments from my subjects regarding their ideas on multiculturalism, the questionnaire, and anything else they wanted to mention. Let me quote some of my replies:

(With regard to multiculturalism) "I believe in multiculturalism!". "Multiculturalism? Great! First shot the Wasp's!" "It's about time we stopped being shoved into an English pigeon-hold and were allowed to be ourselves." "Multiculturalism? — Detrimental! Look at Quebec." "Multiculuralism — I couldn't care less!"

(With regard to the questionnaire): "Not personal enough" "Too personal!" (I guess you can't please everybody.) "Too unscientific — I'd hate to see any conclusions based on this!" (I guess I have to agree here) "Why don't you ask about our feelings of relevance to the Ukraine today?" (Good point!) "Why didn't you ask about both sets of grandparents — even Ukrainians have two sets." (My mistake, I left out one set.)

(With regard to speaking Ukrainian): One male, second generation, said he regretted that his parents had not spoken Ukrainian to him. Another, a girl, regretted that she could not speak it fluently. She was embarrassed when others spoke it beautifully and consequently refrained from speaking Ukrainian at certain times. A girl said that she didn't give a damn about not speaking Ukrainian. She felt Ukrainian and that's all that mattered!

(With regard to Ukrainian identity) 'A girl said, "A questionnaire, as I am sure you realize, has its limitations — to see how deep our Ukrainian identity is rooted, you would have to be with us." A boy wrote, "Identity is not measurable — it is an inner attachment of feeling — a part of the group." Another boy wrote, "We will overcome!". (in Ukrainian)

Two contrasting opinions on Multiculturalism:

One girl (first generation) wrote: "It (Multiculturalism) is a crime! People brought up in such a spirit are divided superficially. They do not know what it is to be completely immersed in one way of life or have a secure base from which to look at life . . . Are people who say they are Ukrainian true to themselves? Is it of their own choice that they hold on to archaic tradition that holds hardly anything of a 20th century spirit and may I dare add a 1970 spirit? Why do they cling to it if it isn't modern? Is it because of fear to stand up and make a definite choice, social pressures? Do they want to be wishy-washy all their lives?"

Another girl (first generation also) wrote: "It is very important for me to maintain my Ukrainian cultural identity. With regard to Multiculturalism, I feel that at the present time it is the best answer to Canada's mosaic. It allows for individuality-retention and development of one's own traditions, custom, language, etc. while providing for a common bond among all groups — the Canadian spirit — which should develop as the different ethnic groups come to recognize and respect each other. All will be working for Canadian goals but will not be using the same methods. To me, multiculturalism goes beyond the mere recognition of different cultures — it also means a recognition of different identities. and only a person who knows his identity, is firm in it, and proud of it, can be of any advantage to the community at large. Positive attitudes are necessary to cultivate strong identities, and at the present time, a concept of multiculturalism seems to be a step in that direction.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION:

One thing became apparent to me and that was that my subjects were not aware of the paradox between their being interested in maintaining Ukrainian identity and gradually losing their language skills through not speaking Ukrainian. Perhaps they are not aware of the close relationship between language and culture as I am with my anthropological background. I have placed quite a bit of emphasis on language in this study and therefore must, at this point, put forth and support my bias. To me the preservation of a culture also means the preservation of the language associated with that culture, that is, if the true *culture is to be expressed in* its entirety. There is much support for this view.

"Franz Boas saw language as inextricably involved in a culture." (Diebold, p. 118, Incipient Bilingualism).

"Original cultural traits survive only partially after the adoption of the English language, especially when several generations have passed. Some characteristics may remain, but can we still speak of a complete culture?" (Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism, Book I, Ottawa, 1967.)

"Statistics of linguistic distribution . . . are still important clues to the present attitudes toward ethnic identification. Perhaps language is always a crucial symbol of ethnic or national affiliation." (Robbins Burling, pp. 101-2, Man's Many Voices, 1970).

And most importantly for this study, however, is the function of language as it involves 'attitudes'. W.E. Lambert et al states: "Substantial evidence indicates that their (students) attitudes toward their own linguistic cultural group can affect their adoption or rejection of their own native language." (Attitudes and Motivation in Second-Language Learning, p. 483)

My sympathies are with those of us who are struggling to maintain our Ukrainian language. I especially know how difficult this is. There is, however, only one way to learn and maintain a language and that is by using it. No matter how slowly, haltingly, or ungrammatically you speak a language today, it is only by persisting that one can achieve fluency. There simply is no other way.

Assimilation is not a one-way street! This point has been emphasized by Wangenheim in her study of Ukrainian-Canadians in 1966 (Sociology, U. of T., in Slavs in Canada) when she says:

"Contrary to general assumptions, and to much of the older sociologically literature, assimilation is not a slow, steady, inexorable, one-way process. When one looks at the historical development of Ukrainians-in-Canada as a group, it is possible to locate factors (meaning discontinuous immigration patterns,changes in the character of immigration, changes in the receptivity of the general society, and certain influential events outside Canada) which, at given points in time, have temporarily halted or even reversed the process, or have deflected the aim toward new reference groups (p. 45)."

However, those Ukrainians who like to point to Quebec as an example of a minority group which has proved itself capable of maintaining its identity should be aware of certain important differences. Quebec was a self-contained entity in a province where it could enforce language restrictions and secondly the French-Canadians were upheld by their priests and Church. Ukrainians are simply not receiving this support for maintenance of Ukrainian identity from their churches. This point I have mentioned in a previous report (the last edition of STUDENT). In addition, we are not being supported by organizations which present themselves to the Ukrainian public as being Ukrainian organizations. In this regard I would draw your attention to St. Vladimir Institute. Twenty-eight of my subjects listed St. Vladimir's as their place of residence. When asked what language they spoke at their 'place of residence' they all said English. One girl who answered that she spoke English at her place of residence (which was St. Vladimir's) added that she spoke English only when she had to. The inference which I draw from this statement is pretty clear.

I feel quite strongly that if we are not encouraged to speak Ukrainian in those places where we are able to, it is highly unlikely that we will ever speak Ukrainian well. A colleague of mine last year who is a resident of St. Vladimir's (but was not a subject in this study), remarked to me that she only appreciated her parents teaching her Ukrainian when she was able to see the profit in dollars and cents in her job (she was given a special assignment for her ability to speak Ukrainian). She professed, however, to being a supporter of multiculturalism in Canada — the Ukraine did not interest her.

Each of us will react to her statement in his own subjective way. My reaction was one of intense sorrow. Ukrainians in the Ukraine today are suffering untold agonies for the right to speak and maintain our language, yet for some this privilege here in Canada is only considered meaningful in monetary terms. I think we should give some careful thought to exactly where multiculturalism is going in Canada, how long it would survive without the ideal of a free Ukraine to strive for, and finally we should scan critically those organizations, clubs, churches, etc. who pay lip service to the maintaining of our identity but whose accomplishments seem to negate their supposed aims. We can expect no one except ourselves to undertake this vital function.

My apologies for a not very professional piece of field work. However, I learned a great deal from it so perhaps it was not wasted. For all who cooperated — thank you.

TOWARDS A POLITICAL SOCIOLOG

The last decade or so has witnessed the proliferation of the "multi-culturalism" movement on the Canadian political forum. This movement received its first coherent expression in a maiden speech to the Senate (in 1963) by a newly-appointed member, Dr. Paul Yuzyk. In it he argued that it was time for all Canadians to acknowledge the contribution made by the various minority ethnic groups (who, 1961 Census figures indicate, constitute 26% of the total Canadian population according to the criterion of "ethnic origin") to the social, economic and political development of Canadian society and to search for ways of ensuring the survival and development of these communities, their languages, traditions, folkways, etc., within and in adaptation to the overall Canadian "milieu.". Having articulated a historically based justification for the recognition of these cultural minorities, Senator Yuzyk paved the way for further debates on this issue. Dialogue began within and among the leading circles of these communities and culminated in Thinkers' Conferences and Conferences of Christians and Jews. Such events constituted landmarks for increasingly frequent attempts to define a doctrine, based on a analysis of Canadian history through the perspective of ethnic groups and on the assumption of some humanistic value intrinsic to cultural diversity, which would provide a system of action-related ideas designed to improve the "receptiveness" of the total social system to a growing cultural pluralism. In 1965, Pearson's government came out with the terms of reference for the Royal Commission on Bilingualism and Biculturalism which evoked a reaction from some of the spokesmen for these minority groups. They claimed that the framework provided for the Commission was too limited and biased in its analysis of the minority ethnic groups, their historical and structural evolution, etc. The contention was that viewing Canada through the perspective of bilingualism and biculturalism ignored the multilingual, multicultural reality of Canadian society and relegated the members of its minority groups to a "second-class" position (2). The movement gained further impetus with the publication of the fourth volume of the Commission's report (dealing with the "cultural contribution" made by the other ethnic groups) which was purported to have adhered closely to the bias inherent in its terms of reference. This view was especially significant in so far as Commissioner J.B. Rudnyckyj had still criticized the Commissions' terms of reference as far back as 1967. He had deviated from the main line and published in a separate statement certain steps to be taken towards the preservation and development of the Canadian "mosaic" which were to clash seriously in principle with the recommendations made by the Commission, two years later, in the fourth volume of its report(3). Lobbying began in earnest with the government (the lead taken by the Ukrainian-Canadian group) on both the federal and provincial levels, criticizing the narrowness of the Commission's work and demanding a broader, firmer commitment from the public sector in dealing with this matter. Bohdan Krawchenko(4) and, later, Andrew Semotiuk(5), both active leaders of the Ukrainian Canadian University Students' Union, were among the first to set down on paper a comprehensive, historically-oriented critique of the Commission's work, the general outline of a programme for the development of cultural pluralism, and an analysis of the role of government, the education system, and the communications media in this process. In response to this growing concern, the provincial governments of Manitoba, Alberta and Ontario, in conjunction with the Citizenship Branch, Dept. of the Secretary of State, organized conferences and invited representatives of the various cultural minorities to participate in the formulation of concrete policy proposals in this direction. In October of 1971, Prime Minister Trudeau pronounced, first in the House and, the following evening, at the tenth tri-annual Ukrainian-Canadian Congress in Winnipeg, Canada a multicultural nation within a bilingual framework. Despite the seeming responsiveness of the provincial and federal governments, their efforts (with perhaps the exception of Alberta) were written off as mere pacifying, token gestures by some of the more vociferous elements of these minorities (this is especially so with the Ukrainian-Canadian groups). During the summer of 1972, a number of Ukrainian-Canadian students launched an action campaign which centered around circulating a petition, throughout the province of Saskatchewan, among Canadians of non-Anglo Saxon origin. This petition protested the federal government's commitment to its "multicultural" policy both in terms of the parameters of the policy and on the level of policy implementation. Initiative was taken by these students to gain the consensus of all minority ethnic groups in the province for their action. Nevertheless, their hopes far exceeded the actual, final outcome. Their lack of success can be rationalized by more immediate exigencies such as organizational problems, lack of resources, inability to pursue the action to its conclusion because of the incidence of other responsibilities, e.g. students resuming their studies in the fall, etc. However, the failure of this action should be viewed in a larger context, i.e. in terms of the total movement's inability to generate a broad basis of support among all segments of the minority ethnic groups. A detailed historical record of the movement would be replete with examples of actions, such as the above one, enthusiastically undertaken but abandoned half-way through.

It is boped that the following discussion, focusing on the Ukrainian-Canadian groups as a model for analysis, will reveal certain plausible explanations for the movement's incapacity to generate more widespread support within the group by relating this problem to the political nature of the movement and the sociological characteristics of its participants.

The doctrine of multiculturalism generally rests on the proposition that the existence of minority ethnic groups with their respective modes of community life (educational institutions, churches, organizations, etc.) should not be considered transient phenomena, vestiges of immigrant groups not yet fully adjusted to the Canadian way of life. Instead, they should be regarded as integral, viable cultural entities that have struggled to maintain their distinct identities while adapting to the ovcr-all "milieu" and contributing to Canadian social development. The obverse of this is that the doctrine rejects the traditional association of "Canadianism" with "Anglo-Saxonism", contending instead that to be of Ukrainian descent does not necessarily render one a foreigner, immigrant, or "non-Canadian". The basis of this contention is the fact that membership in these groups is for the most part Canadian born. The Ukrainian-Canadian community, which ranks among the highest of all the cultural minorities in terms of the percentage of its total membership born in Canada, figures in the 80% bracket (this does not include the Greeks and Italians, most of whom immigrated to Canada within the last decade). It is the prevalence of the popularized idea which implies the equation between being Canadian and speaking English (which, it must be conceded, is still rooted firmly in the collective sentiments of English Canada, although some are more willing to make allowances for the French language) that, multiculturalism argues, has been responsible for the creation of an environment largely unreceptive to the existence of these minority groups as integrated yet culturally distinct social entities, and, subsequently, for their gradual disintegration. Thus, having established a historically-based legitimation of cultural diversity as a Canadian reality and, moreover, pointing to its intrinsic human value in terms of its capacity to counteract the dehumanizing, atomizing forces of a technoloically advanced, mass society, the exponents of multiculturalism can therefore proceed to refute any justification of Anglo-Saxon cultural hegemony. The government, if it is to represent truly all of the various Canadian peoples, must reconsider its current position and examine how to best safeguard the continued existence asnd development of these minority, hyphenated Canadian cultures. Concrete proposals made by spokesmen for the movement were typically the following: introduction of minority languages in the education system as languages of instruction; use of minority languages in CBC broadcasting, NFB film production, and private and public radio-programming; and financial government support (in the form of public advertising) of the "ethnic press".

As can be readily seen, the main focal point and rallying symbol of the doctrine has been the question of minority languages. The Royal Commission itself argued that "language is the key to culture; without the language the culture cannot survive."(6) By placing the emphasis on language, the movement's leaders could, therefore, justify their criticism of the Royal Commission on the grounds that the latter, while recognizing the intrinsic connection between language and culture, contradicted itself by not taking up the language issue seriously enough. Hence, the Commission could not adequately fulfill its task of taking steps to "safeguard the cultural contribution made by the other ethnic groups."(7) It is precisely for this reason that Commissioner J.B. Rudnyckyj bypassed the Commission's terms of reference and published, in a separate appendix, recommendations dealing with the possibility of institutionalizing minority language use on the provincial level of government.

Other recommendations made by the exponents of multiculturalism include typically the following: government funding of projects oriented towards the development of minority ethnic community structures, public subsidizing of "ethnic" organizations and their activities, public aid in the establishment of a university to specialize in minority languages and related cultural studies. In general, therefore, the doctrine demands that the society's resources be distributed equitably among all cultural groups so that none flourish at the expense of the others.

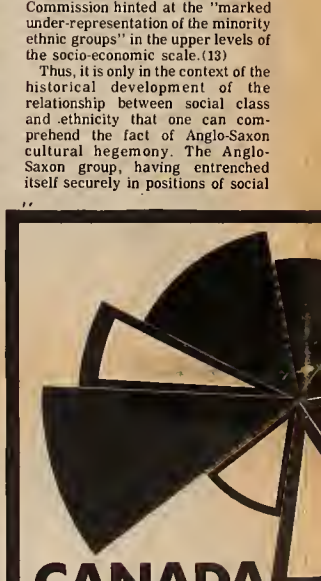
The obverse of this whole issue is, of course, the question of to what extent is an individual's ethnic origin capable of affecting (either enhancing or impairing) his or her opportunities for free mobility within the overall social, economic, and political structures of society. The exponents of multiculturalism frequently point to the existence of a subjective problem of marginality which often confronts the child of an immigrant. They claim the prevalence of discriminatory attitudes on the part of the dominant Anglo-Canadian group against those of minority ethnic group origin, often forcing them to choose between two alternatives perceived to be mutually conflicting with each other: either the renunciation of one's heritage so as to facilitate a higher degree of mobility or the conscious retention and cultivation of one's cultural distinctiveness at the expense of a lower rate of social mobility.(8) How does the doctrine propose that this inequity be alleviated? Firstly, the government must undertake to legitimate cultural pluralism by sensitizing all Canadians to the fact and value of its existence as an integral part of the Canadian social reality. A very important step in this direction would be the liquidation of all publications (including school texts) which deal with cultural minorities in a "discriminatory" (derogatory) fashion and their replacement by historically "more accurate" publications. Such a program if undertaken by the government (on both levels, each in accordance with its area of jurisdiction) would be to no avail, however, unless it fulfills its responsibility of aiding in the development of all minority ethnic groups and their modes of community life. Thus multiculturalism appears to be a conscious rebellion by certain cultural minorities against the forces of assimilation operative in the Canadian social system. The alternative it proposes is one of integrating these minorities into the over-all political, economic, and social spheres of societal life — i.e., those aspects of societal life which pertain to all individuals regardless of their ethnic group affiliation, — thus minimizing the importance of ethnicity in determining opportunities for climbing up the social heap, while simultaneously enhancing the continuation and development of their traditions, languages, cultural activities, community structures, etc. (9)

The most crucial point recognized by the movement's exponents is the fact that ethnicity plays an important role in determining the individual's chances for mobility within the social system. Yet, their analysis develops this aspect of the issue no further. The inevitable result was a fundamental misconception on their part when, by arguing that the German, Ukrainian, or Indian can move freely within the system (depending of course on the extent of his personal abilities and aspirations) so long as he is willing to deny his cultural distinctiveness, they assume implicitly that the choice (albeit an unfair one) is entirely and wholly the individual's. To put the problem in more general terms, their analysis attributes the existence of minority ethnic groups and their respective community structures solely to some abstract "collective desire to maintain a distinct cultural identity." Such a voluntaristic conception fails to consider the significance of other concrete factors and social process which, taken in their interaction with each other and with the "collective desire" variable, all together help to explain the phenomenon of cultural pluralism. It is an analysis of some of the other factors to which we presently turn.

Firstly, immigrants, upon arrival to Canada (a substantial proportion of whom experienced no previous contact with either of the two official Canadian languages) were faced with the initial problem of linguistic and cultural isolation. This, combined with the psychic need to continue their modes of community life, to further adhere to their religious and cultural institutions, organizations, and communication in their mother tongue, drove them to settle in linguistically fairly homogeneous "ethnic enclaves" so as to reduce the exigencies of "cultural shock" and simultaneously to maintain their dislocated way of life. Of course, the degree of cohesion within the "ethnic" community and of its resistance to forces of assimilation is determined by factors such as degree of social class differentiation, variation in political orientations, life-styles and attitudes conditioned by the place of emigration, degree of geographic concentration, length of stay in the host-society, frequency of interaction with other ethnic groups (again to be affected by, and reciprocally affecting, differences in social class, language, cultural behaviour patterns, inter-group attituues, etc.)

Of paramount importance in explaining the existence of cultural pluralism in Canada is the relationship between social class and ethnicity. Porter's analysis of the topmost economic, political, bureaucratic and communication elites in Canada reveals them to be almost exclusively of White Anglo Saxon Protestant origin.(10) As well, Merrijoy Kelner completed a study of the various local elites in Toronto based on the theoretical framework developed by E. Digby Baltzell.(11) She found that, although the minority ethnic groups were beginning to permeate the strategic (e.g., corporate, labour, bureaucratic, communications and academic) elites, they were in fact meeting "closed doors" at the highest levels of the social hierarchy — membership in the most prestigeous clubs, cliques and associations was still exclusively Anglo-Saxon.(12) Even the Royal Commission hinted at the "marked under-representation of the minority ethnic groups" in the upper levels of the socio-economic scale.(13)

Thus, it is only in the context of the historical development of the relationship between social class and ethnicity that one can comprehend the fact of Anglo-Saxon cultural hegemony. The Anglo-Saxon group, having entrenched itself securely in positions of social



control ever since Montcalm's defeat by Wolfe, was able to legitimate the channelling of the society's resources towards, firstly, the institutionalization of its language (as a national language) and secondly, the maintenance and development of, and adaptation to its cultural behaviour patterns. One need only examine the history of Canadian immigration policy and certain realms of Canadian literature to find ample evidence of the doctrine of "Anglo-Saxon superiority" in practice.(14) Despite the fact that legal and political institutionalization of prejudice towards immigrants and their offspring has today virtually disappeared,(15) the Anglo-Canadian group still dominates the higher economic, social and political strata of society. Consequently, there is little wonder that Canadian-born members of these minority groups (especially the more aspiring ones) assumed the preponderance of the "ideal of Anglo-Saxon conformity", thinking that adopting the dominant cultural patterns of the host-society would be a necessary, but the sole prerequisite for unrestricted movement up the social ladder.

In order to develop our argument a little further, it is necessary to make the distinction, as does Milton Gordon, between cultural and structural assimilation.(16) The former refers to the process of "absorption of the (dominant) cultural behaviour patterns of the host-society." (17) The latter, on the

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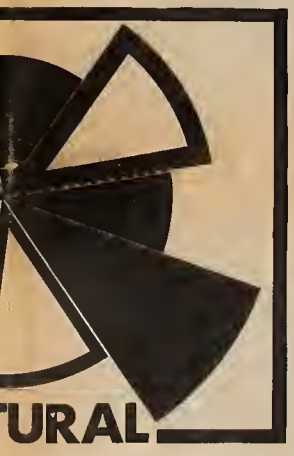
other hand, signifies the process of permeation of the society's elite structures by the minority ethnic groups. While there has been, in Canada, a strong tendency towards cultural assimilation of the immigrations' descendants, this has not been met with a corresponding rate of structural assimilaton. The second or third generation Ukrainian-, Polish-, or German-Canadian, while having been socialized (outside the family and network of primary relationships provided by his ethnic group), through the public education system, mass media, and even through a part of his peer group relations, to adopt the conventions, life-style, beliefs and attitudes exemplified throughout middle-class English Canada, has frequently met with considerable resistance (in some cases insurmountable) on his way up the 'social heap' (this is especially so with respect to the social status hierarchy as M. Kelner has demonstrated). The unsuccessful ones would, in many cases, attempt to alleviate their sense of failure and frustration by returning to their respective ethnic groups and by striving to attain positions of prestige and influence each within his group's community organizations, social structure, etc. More generally, containment of the aspiring "non-Anglo-Canadian" to the periphery of the society's elite structures has, to some extent, counteracted certain (culturally)



assimilative forces and strengthened the basis for social structures and behaviour patterns differentiated along ethnic group lines.

Thus, it has been demonstrated that the advent of the "multiculturalism" movement must not be viewed simply as the outgrowth of the conflict between "the collective desire to exist as a distinct cultural entity" and the forces of assimilation generated by the "ideal of Anglo-Saxon conformity." Instead, the movement should be comprehended as the outcome of reciprocal determination and interaction between the aforementioned conflict and the society's inability to structurally assimilate (in pace with the rate of cultural homogenization) all of its minority ethnic groups (as expressed by precisely the insufficiency of the "ideal of Anglo-Saxon conformity" as a viable alternative).

What therefore can be said of the doctrine of multiculturalism as a whole? Firstly, the doctrine is not an ideology (in the full, Marxian sense of the term) since it does not seek to alter the structural foundations of the total social system but merely attempts to introduce reform within one particular dimension of the society's existence — treatment of its cultural minorities. It accepts the basic values engendered by a modern social system based on the capitalist mode of economic activity (with some state intervention), i.e. values of private enterprise, individualism and achievement. Indeed, the doctrine indirectly works to enhance the viability of the latter two; if cultural pluralism is sufficiently legitimated then each individual's opportunities for social mobility would be determined no longer by certain ascribed characteristics (in this case ethnicity) but by his abilities and achievements. The doctrine's pluralistic orientation is demonstrated by its appeal to the state to respond to the interests and needs of a certain type of social grouping (ethnic groups) coupled with its contention that cultural pluralism has definite humanistic value in terms of its capacity to counteract the dehumanizing, atomizing consequences of modernization, i.e. industrialization and urbanization. The political strategy of the movement, moreover, clearly demonstrates its reformist, liberal-pluralistic nature by its affinity for pressure group politics, e.g. lobbying with M.P.'s (and M.L.A.'s) and top-level public service officials, utilization of the mass communications media to generate public support, etc. In general, the strategy reveals a sort of built-in aversion to extra-legal, subversive activity and a willingness to search for a solution within the legitimate boundaries of the present political system. The nature of the movement's strategy is certainly understandable in light of the doctrine's failure to develop a more comprehensive analysis of the relationship between the social class structure and ethnicity and of the consequences of this relationship for any kind of political activity. Quebec, where class, ethnic, religious, and geographical cleavages coincide more sharply than anywhere else in Canada, has witnessed a growing awareness on the part of the French-Canadian people — especially the new middle class and the intelligentsia — of their predicament and a corresponding drive to seek more radical alternatives (as is witnessed by the more militant trade-union movement, student groups, and the FLQ, by the nationalistic-separatistic Parti Quebecois, and even by the more intransigent academic profession). Why is it then that the exponents of multiculturalism have failed to recognize and develop the potentially more radical implications of their discontent?

A study of the movement's participants reveals some interesting possibilities for explaining why the doctrine and strategy of multiculturalism assumed the form in which they presently appear. I shall limit this discussion strictly to the Ukrainian-Canadian group for two reasons: a) I am more qualified to speak about this group than any other; b) this group has been far more instrumental than any other in the promotion of this movement. It is probable however that some of the arguments advanced below can be applied wherever relevant to other minority ethnic groups as well.

Firstly, upwardly mobile, middle-class aspiring Ukrainian Canadians have shown a greater interest in the movement than lower class, non-mobile Ukrainian-Canadians (here class situation could be assessed in terms of level of income, level of education and ranking on the occupational scale employed by B. Blishen(18).) Secondly, Urban-situated Ukrainian-Canadians are by far over-represented in the movement's ranks while those situated in rural areas have demonstrated, proportionately speaking, a low level of interest. The ratio of first- or second-generation to third or fourth generation Ukrainian-Canadians involved in the movement is much greater than the same ratio for all Ukrainian-Canadians across the country. Thus participation seems to be predominantly constituted by upwardly mobile, middle-class aspiring, urban, first- or second-generation Ukrainian-Canadians. Moreover, despite the fact that nearly 75% of all Ukrainian-Canadians are situated in the West (especially the prairie provinces), the ratios of urban-situated/ rural-situated and first- and second-generation/ third-and fourth-generation Ukrainian-Canadians, being considerably greater for the East than for West, help to explain why the former (Ontario and Quebec) has been able to generate just as much, if not more, support for the movement as the latter. This is especially so since well-over sixty thousand Ukrainians presently reside in Toronto, constituting the largest (next to Winnipeg) and most highly-organized concentrations of Ukrainian-Canadians in all of the nation.

Pre-war Ukrainian immigrants to Canada were predominantly agrarian, with relatively limited formal education, and had immigrated for purely economic reasons.(19) Few of them had developed a nationalistic political orientation; as a matter of fact many did not even consider themselves Ukrainians but, instead, identified themselves by names of provinces in the Ukraine, where they had lived prior to emigration (e.g. Bukovinians, Galicians, etc.), until they came into contact with the ideas and organizational drive of the later immigrants.(20) They tended to settle in the prairie provinces;(21) the language had atrophied considerably among their off-spring who, with the increasing modernization of Canadian society, began to migrate to urban centres, causing the ethnic enclaves of their forefathers to erode. What was left of these tiny, isolated, rural community structures was still held together by the Ukrainian Church (either Catholic or Orthodox). As it turned out however, the Catholic Church (unlike its counterpart) sometimes appeared more concerned with maintaining the people's religious faith even if it meant, in many cases, the loss of their cultural identity. It is not surprising, therefore, that these "Ukrainian-Canadians" were unable to find much in common with the more intensely nationalistic, highly-educated, urban-based post-war emigré. Despite the efforts of the movement's leaders to mobilize their support, the gains were almost negligible.

The inter-war wave was a little different. A larger proportion of these immigrants was more highly educated and had left the Ukraine for political reasons. Reacting to the Bolshevik annexation of the short-lived Ukrainian People's Republic in 1919,(22) they were more interested in maintaining some form of Ukrainian community life here in Canada and established a Ukrainian press, schools and organizations. Although most of them settled in urban centres in Central and Western Canada,(23) they attempted to extend their work into the rural areas as well. However, their offspring have undergone a considerable degree of language loss and cultural assimilation. With all the above in mind, it is easy to see why there were initially so few third- or fourth-generation Ukrainian-Canadians involved in the movement, although recently their participation has increased somewhat.

It is the post-war Ukrainian emigre that has had the greatest vested interest in the multiculturalism movement. On the average more highly educated,(24) more intensely nationalistic, feeling the impending threat of extinction of the Ukrainian nationality, they inculcated into their children more deeply than any of the previous waves of immigration a sense of responsibility for maintaining the Ukrainian national heritage and for working towards the "liberation" of the Ukraine from "Russian oppression."(25) Political differences with previous waves of immigration coupled with the fact that the post-war emigre tended to settle in the urban centres of Eastern Canada (e.g. Toronto, Montreal, Ottawa, Windsor, etc.)(26) engendered the East-West cleavage within the Ukrainian-Canadian community and, subsequently, hampered the development of a unified, nation-wide basis of support for the movement.

As was mentioned previously, one of the main focal points of the movement has been the question of minority languages and their role in the Canadian social system. It is highly probable that the language issue would have more appeal as a rallying symbol to the middle-class than to the lower class since those belonging to the former (e.g. doctors, lawyers, teachers, politicians, engineers and business entrepreneurs, etc.) are more sensitive to the use of the language medium in their every-day worklives. Similarly, "culture" can be argued to be the prerogative of the middle-class since it obtains both the economic means and the leisure time well suited to more esoteric pursuits. For these reasons, the movement has been much less representative of the industrial and agrarian working-classes (their needs and interests) within the Ukrainian-Canadian community. Moreover, the doctrine's preoccupation with questions of language and culture has captured the attention of the post-war emigre and their descendants. And, considering the differences in social, cultural values and political orientation among the various waves of immigration (as depicted above), this helps to explain why many adherents have not been gained from among the descendants of pre- and inter-war immigrants.

Thus, lack of sufficient input from all significant segments of the Ukrainian-Canadian group has led to the doctrine's failure to take adequate account of the real divisions within the community constituted by social-class, rural-urban, East-West differences (conditioned by cleavages characteristic of Canadian society) and differences in values, levels of education, and political orientation among the various waves of immigration and their descendants. The result had to be a misnomer in the application of the term "community" or "cultural group" to the Ukrainian-Canadian group. If one uses either of these two terms to signify a substantial degree of collective consciousness then, in the context of this group, the development of such a collective consciousness or group cohesiveness has obviously been severely hampered. Yet, using these terms indiscriminately, the leaders of the movement could not help but impose their definition of "Ukrainian-Canadian" on everybody who has a Ukrainian surname or whose pedigree reveals a grandmother or grandfather of Ukrainian descent. This has led them to the further mishap of identifying their interests with those of all other Ukrainian-Canadians; and, they frequently argue, if the fourth-generation, rural-situated Ukrainian-Canadian's interests aren't the same it is because he has been oppressed to the extent of total alienation from his cultural identity.

In summing, therefore, multiculturalism is a movement, liberal-pluralistic and reformist in its political orientation, and mainly representative of the interests of middle-class aspiring, urban-situated, first and second generation Ukrainian-Canadians. Motivations for participation vary with each individual. Many see in the movement a means for satisfying their social needs; in this case, multiculturalism becomes the "in-thing" to do and involvement in the movement a standard of group conformity. The consequence of the legitimation of multiculturalism within the middle-class strata of the community is that a number of upwardly mobile third- or fourth-generation Ukrainian-Canadians (students and professionals) who have come into more frequent contact with more active, vociferous, first and second generation members of the group have recently been drawn into the movement's ranks. Others see multiculturalism as a vehicle of perpetuating their positions of control and high social esteem within the group's organizational and social structures. Still others use it as a spring-board for fulfilling their political ambitions. In general, however, the movement sprang from the need of Canadian-born "marginal men" to reconcile social pressure applied to them through the family, the ethnic schools, church, organizations, etc., to continue "developing their cultural heritage" with their aspirations in the "Anglo-Canadian world" by legitimating the former in the eyes of the latter. Multiculturalism, therefore — this point is worth emphasizing again —, should be understood not only as a projection of the "collective desire to exist as a distinct cultural identity." Instead, it should be viewed also, and more importantly, as a reaction against the social systems inability to (structurally) assimilate rapidly enough the growing number of middle-class aspiring, urban-situated members of the minority ethnic groups. By legitimating ethnic distinctiveness, the movement seeks to expand the structural base of society and open up channels of mobility so as to facilitate freer movement by all minority groups within the social system. A valuable empirical indication of this would be the doctrine's clamouring for typically the following: a) the creation of new government agencies and departments (on both the provincial and federal levels) and devise programmes for responding to these needs; b) the opening up of the mass media (especially publicly owned radio and television networks) to include broadcasting in other languages; c) the establishment of a university which would specialize in minority language and related cultural studies; d) the use of other languages as languages of instruction in the education system, etc. The fulfillment of all these demands would necessarily result in the expansion of the high "white-collar" occupational structure, positions in which would be manned by members of the ethnic minorities.

It is the doctrine's failure to relate to the interests of the industrial and agrarian working classes within the minority ethnic groups that has resulted in their lack of participation in the movement. Perhaps, only by emphasizing the role of ethnicity in determining structured social inequality could the movement hope to extend the basis of its support to include the lower social classes. To give a more immediate example, a Ukrainian-Canadian wage-labourer concerned with obtaining a wage-raise or with becoming a member of a trade-union elite would not be worried about either his command of the Ukrainian language or the level of his "self-awareness" as a Ukrainian-Canadian. On the other hand, if one were to convince him that his chances of achieving those goals are limited by his cultural origins, then his interest may be aroused. Such a strategy, naturally, has revolutionary implications in that it calls into question the structural foundations of the entire society; for, it is highly improbable that the movement could succeed (in terms of its manifest goals) within the legitimate boundaries of the present political system. As long as the Anglo-Canadian group remains in firm economic, social and political control the other groups cannot hope to develop a sufficient structural basis of power so as to effect meaningful imput into the decision-making process governing the allocation of resources for cultural growth.

continued on page 18

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adrian karatnycky

I LOVE SUPERMAN'S WIFE

i

When Superman got married I saw his wife's picture in the Daily Planet.

ii

She is a tall raven-haired creature with snow-white complexion, glittering wide eyes, and she was just voted the Most Beautiful Woman of the World.

iii

She is not Lois Lane.

iv

Once I saw some graffiti on a subway wall. It said "Superman s----".

v

Superman is big and strong. He has rippling and bulging muscles. He has X-ray vision, and is even immune to Kryptonite. Also, he has a car and he has a secret identity.

vi

I am not big and strong. I have no rippling and bulging muscles, no X-ray vision, and although I am immune to Kryptonite, it doesn't do me a whole lot of good. Also I don't have a car or a secret identity.

vii

One day I was riding home from work on the subway. The Metropolis subway is not very clean, and since someone had puked all over the seats everybody was standing, holding his nose. I was standing with everybody, holding my nose, thinking about Superman and his Most Beautiful Woman in the World-wife.

viii

Oh Superman! If only I had your bulging triceps, rippling biceps, heroic chest. If only I had X-ray vision, could melt down metal, could leap tall buildings in a single bound, I would be happy.

ix

There is no way I can explain it fully. What was just a vague feeling has emerged fully bloomed as a magnificent obsession. I collect all newspaper clippings detailing Superman's heroics. I collate information on his eating habits, his hobbies, his travels. I have read all books on the Superman phenomenon and biographies on Superman himself. On occasion I have even sifted through his garbage in the hope of finding some bit of information concerning his tastes and personal preferences.

x

There is a growing desire in me to feel what Superman feels. To experience the physical and intellectual sensations of the man of steel, at least to simulate them as accurately as possible. I find myself reading the books he reads, seeing the movies he sees, eating the foods he eats. At home I wear a Superman suit and recount the heroics of my splendid triumphs over Lex Luthor and Brainiac.

xi

I have bought myself a white dog.

xii

I must know all about Superman's sex life.

xiv

I would like to know what it feels like to be Superman in bed with the Most Beautiful Woman-wife in the World. I long to caress her heavenly body. I can no longer sleep nights for I am ever thinking of her beauty and the love she gives to the most heroic and most powerful man in the world.

xv

Why Superman has never run for Political office:
1) Because he would have an unfair advantage.
2) Because he does not want political power.
3) Because he doesn't have a good voice.
4) Who would vote for someone who flies around in a blue suit?

xvi

I am aware of the dynamics of Superman's psychological function. I know that he is a wish-fulfillment image/ prototype of whom men are physically jealous and who symbolizes for men everything they have aspired to but can never attain. He is the total man, fully endowed. Yet despite this rationalization and despite my awareness of this phenomenon, I find myself each day more and more jealous and more and more wishing to be Superman.

xvii

I have a theory. It states that someday Superman will forget to restrain his physical powers and will kill his wife in bed.

xviii

I am afraid of this happening. Everyday I am filled anew with this fear that Superman's wife will be killed by him in bed. I shudder when I hear bulletins over the radio. I cringe at the mention of tragedies. I am ever anticipating.

xlx

Superman's wife is now traveling around the world. I saw a picture of her in the Daily Planet. She is standing in a bikini. She is now beautifully tanned. She is on a beach in Aruba. Her tongue is licking her upper lip. In her right hand she has a bottle of Puerto Rican rum. She exudes unrestrained sensuality. Even though the ocean separates us I can feel her beckoning me to come and live with her. To travel with her., She is probably bored with her Most Beautiful Woman-wife-housewife in the World role/ image and she wants out.

xx

If only I were Superman

xxi

My feelings for Superman's wife grow stronger every day.

xxii

Today in the Daily Planet I read how Superman caught 14 criminals who were attempting to rob a bank.

xxiii

I fear that Superman will become even stronger than he is now. That he will be able to appear at many places at once. His capabilities do not make this seem far-fetched. I fear this because I am jealous of Superman's powers. I want Superman's body. I want to be Superman.

xxiv

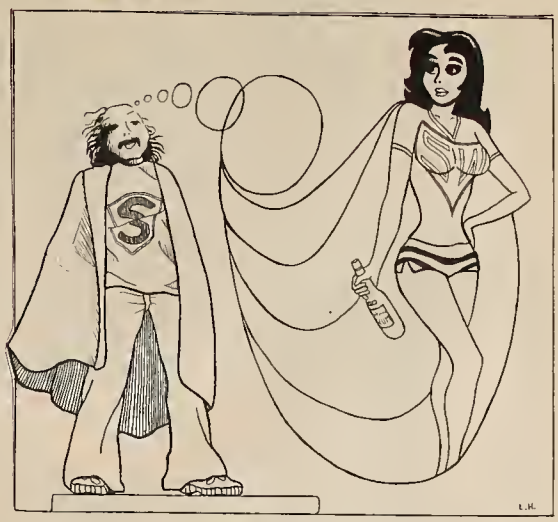
She is lovely. I am looking through the pictures of her in the scrapbooks I keep on Superman and his life. She changes like the seasons. Once she is pale, girlish. Another time she is a bronze goddess, an Aphrodite, a woman of incredible physical endowment.

xxv

Superman is starring in his first film. It is a Western. He is not a good actor. They use real bullets.

xxvi

I love Superman's wife!



xxvll

Superman was on a talk show last night. He said: "I read this really super book by a super author. It was called The Limits of Power and it was super." I guess that part of the responsibility of a Superman is to inflate everything to his own capabilities.

xxviii

Superman has never read Nietzsche.

xxix

My desires fail to be satisfied by media contact. I must touch Superman, sleep with his wife, sire her children, etc.

xxx

Superman destroys language.

xxxi

More and more I am spending time out of doors in the hope of meeting Superman and/ or his Most Beautiful Woman in the World wife going to a bookstore, to a delicatessan or just windowshopping. Perhaps, I will help Superman foil a heist.

xxxii

I can no longer live without being Superman, without having his wife. I love her passionately.

xxxiii

Superman's actions daily destroy language. Our language is tailored for human capabilities. Superlatives are saved for extreme and rare occurrences. When what is rare and extreme becomes commonplace, words such as heroic, superhuman, etc. lose their meaning.

xxxiv

Today I spoke with Superman's friend Jimmy Olsen. He is an awkward sort of fellow, a bit dense, but altogether likable. He showed me the watch he uses to call Superman and he even let me wear it. I was tempted to call Superman when the watch was firmly on my wrist, but I was afraid that would anger Superman and he would hurt me.

xxxv

Superman doesn't have to brush his teeth.

xxxvi

I have written a love-letter to Superman's wife.

"Though you may think me mad, though you may have never met me, know that I, who have followed your every step, who watched your marriage to Superman, have seen your infrequent visits to football stadiums, concert halls, and sidewalk cafes, who have fervently followed you in your travels around the world, declare my intense love for you. You are the center of my cosmos. For the last year I have thought of nothing but you and Superman. My house is filled with photographs of your splendid body. I have committed to memory your every public utterance, I have in my possession a record of your every public act. Do not laugh at me for I am truly sincere in my intense love for you."

Name withheld

xxxvii

I read in the newspaper that Superman's wife gets thousands of love-letters from frustrated males each day. She has two secretaries busy at work answering them.

xxxvlii

Three months have passed by. There is no reply.

xxxix

I must become Superman. I must have his rippling muscles, his X-ray vision, his chest of steel. I must above all have his wife. She must adore me.
I love Superman's wife.
I love Superman.
I love.

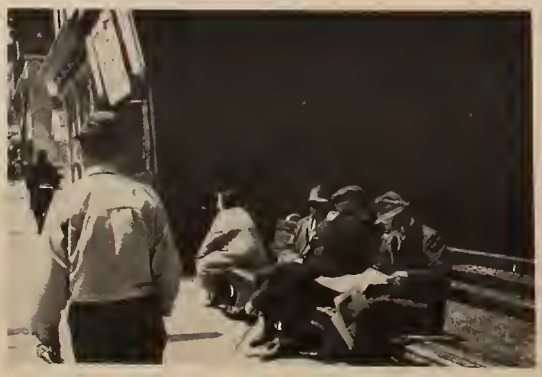
I.

XL

I still have my hope.

QUEEN and BATHURST: TORONTO'S OLD UKRAINIAN GHETTO

photo essay: Zenon Koltalo



In the beginning they came to Canada, poor landed immigrants with nothing but a suitcase and perhaps a little hope about making good in the new country. They moved into the Bathurst and Queen area chiefly for economic and social reasons. It was quite simple really. It was the cheapest way to live and so they lived amidst the Chinese, the Italians, the Portuguese, the Polish. An assorted mixture of many peoples who were trying to survive in a country they had once dreamed about. In time Ukrainian churches, stores, businesses, bars, restaurants, schools, an Arka here and there — a community was established. The men would stand outside Olympia or Unity Grill and talk about the old country and reminisce about the past. In time, progress. Ukrainians grew wealthy and moved out of the slum ghetto. They moved into the West End and even into the shining suburbia of Etobicoke. And they left the others behind. The old men and the old women who still walk the streets of Queen and Bathurst as they once did.

H.K.

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SUSK-SUSTA CONFERENCE

photo: Stefan Tur

Participants of the SUSK-SUSTA Conference held on March 16-18 in Toronto

On the weekend of March 16-18th, Toronto hosted an Eastern SUSK Conference as well as a joint SUSK-SUSTA executive meeting. While this was not the first time that such a conference was initiated by the National Executive, it was the first time that SUSK and SUSTA have had a joint executive meeting outside of CESUS congresses.

The conference was a moderate success from the standpoint of decisions reached. Approximately seventy persons attended, of which thirty were from the United States.

Discussions on Friday were basically oriented towards internal SUSK matters, brief writing and CBC action. Andrij Semotiuk gave a President's report concerning the activities of the National Executive since the SUSK congress in Ottawa. Then Ihor Broda, Treasurer of SUSK, gave an outline of the Union's present financial situation, which indicated that much more fund raising was needed. From these two reports it was made quite clear that the National Executive was bogged down by debts although it had done some good work in terms of club visitations, solicitation of multiculturalism questionnaires and in the area of CBC action. Andrij Bandera then gave a most interesting talk on the logistics of brief writing to the government for money, which was in itself both informative and constructive for the members of the conference. It was resolved by the conference that a cookbook on brief writing was needed in the future. Andrij Semotiuk concluded that day's discussions by outlining the CBC action (which is included in this issue of STUDENT) and received the approval of the conference to carry out the proposed plan.

On Saturday the first discussion was centered around multiculturalism. Lesyk Bilyk presented a different viewpoint on how to market the idea of multiculturalism. One of his thoughts was to dress up an individual as a Kozak and send him around on a horse to deliver press releases. For the American participants this included a discussion on ethnic studies. After the multiculturalism panel, there followed a discussion of fieldwork led by Irka Okipniuk and Halya Kuchmij. The history of fieldwork in Canada over the past four years was presented as a point of departure for discussion about this summer's fieldwork project in Canada and possibly in the United States. Following the discussion on fieldwork was a panel discussion on Ukrainian newspapers — with Halya Kuchmij and Myroslav Shkandry from STUDENT and Alexander Motyl and Adrian Karatnycky of NEW DIRECTIONS. The discussion turned into a rather interesting dialogue which turned into a rather heated debate concerning the American student magazine NEW DIRECTIONS. Finally there was discussion on media communications led by Ihor Petelytcky. Much thought was devoted to video tape and the possibility of using it as a stimulus for activity within the Ukrainian community.

Sunday had John Kolasky, author of **Two Years in the Soviet Ukraine, Education in Soviet Ukraine** and **Look Comrade — The People are Laughing**, speak on Ukraine. Mr. Kolasky stressed the importance of speaking Ukrainian as one of the ways of helping those in the Ukraine. Finally the SUSK-SUSTA conference concluded with a discussion on CESUS. The conference decided that the CESUS congress should be held in Toronto, to be organized by SUSK with the help and co-operation of others on the weekend beginning Friday, August the 24th. It was resolved that a program and advertising campaign be initiated as soon as possible.

ОПОВІДАННЯ

"Так і твій батько сходив з цього поїзда, вертаючися зі школи кожний день... була собака, велика чорна собака, забула як її називали, завжди його раиком відпроваджувала і вечором зустрічала, страшно його любила... от так точно як і батько йде... бач я приглядаюся: одне плече вище другого, ліва нога трошки до середини прихльопує... пам'ятаю, тепер пам'ятаю."

Дівчинка пасе жовту корову, прутиком б'є об землю, дивиться на нового гостя великими цікавими очима. Раптом кинулася бігти: "Галю!... Галю!..." розкидає спідницями, побачила товаришку. Дзвінкий дитячий голосок покотився долиною на сирому повітрі раику. Товаришка біжить з другого берега потічка на зустріч. Той поклик дитини так і врізався в пам'ять.

"Змінилося від того часу. Станція згоріла, село розрослося — тягнеться шість кілометрів... довге село."

Обідраний паркан, гуси по битій дорозі, чоботи на порозі, співучі двері, тьотя, сльози...

Пригадався дядько Михайло, без одного ока, без двоє ребер. "В тупик зайшла Україна, в тупик... Прийди до мене завтра, я все розкажу. Все бачив — з червоними воював, стратив око — і для повстанців бився, вирізали мені ребра. Свої видали... хтось у селі. Боюся говорити, бо тут москалі за вікнами сидять. Прийди до мене завтра, я тобі все розкажу." Не пустили, не розказав.

Знову Торонто, п'яні на весіллях, професори журяться про зарплату, пишні фотелі, хідники, розїжджають авта. Одинокий студент сидить на курсі української літератури; всі пішли в лікарі, адвокати, фізики, хеміки. Часом сумно — де ж та творча стихія: собори, слова, сказання, сизі орли, сірі вовки? Де погаиська краса?

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Знову Торонто — організації, концерти, афіши, рецензії, адреси, обіжники — аж обридло. Може тільки в сні пригадаються розсміяні палкі потоки, поклик дитини, предвічна селянська біда.

М. Ш./1973
Торонто

Тихий вилив звуків зістелився на дні рожевого скла
Я прийняв сю мить як шкарубку шию вола
то иездійсненио і те иездійсиеиие — заскрипіли замкиуті двері і люстро заплющило руки
розгородилась біла криниця і вода втекла ніби сои мурашки.
Я чомусь згадував тебе і бачив сиву бочку
зі дзвінким келихом вииа
то так ие иазивалося — то дійсно так ие узивалося — казав я собі — чи може тілько думав.

М. С./1972
Київ

ВУЙКО ШТІФ У ВИННИПЕГУ

UKRAINIAN COMICS: A REALITY

by Bohdan Chomiak

During the days of the first Ukrainian migration to Canada there were a few active souls who realized the impact of comics. Their realization led to the publication of Ukrainian comics in a comic strip form. These comics first appeared in the prairies around 1925 but their content is not restricted to a particular time, place or people.

The comic strips appeared under two titles: Vyuko Steve and Nasha Mary. The Vyuko Steve strip is hilarious. It starts with Vyuko Stepahn leaving the old country and coming to Canada to become the one and only Vyuko 'Steve'. From there it follows his adventures in a free country — how he works for the big Boss, gets fired, impresses the rich yokels and goes through one affair after another, laughing his head off. But the humour takes even a wilder turn when Vyuko Steve's "kobita" comes from the old country.

Throughout all of Vyuko's adventures one sees depicted the life of a Ukrainian immigrant. Each adventure deals with the problems of ...zation, of starting a new life, of politics, of alcohol and of marriage, all from the vantage point of social humour that is instructive as well as hilarious.

The other strip, Nasha Mary, deals with the assimilation and life of the first generation — Ukrainian Canadian. This strip, if compared to the Vyuko Steve one, is like a giggle compared to a loud laugh. Nasha Mary is much simpler in form and its development of characters and ideas is very limited. However it is witty in its portrayal of the sophisticated first generation Ukrainian Canadian as compared to their (supposedly) backward immigrant parents.

Both strips were put out in a book in 1930 by the National Press in Winnipeg and were drawn and written by Y. Maydanyka. The original copies are presently located in the cultural and educational section of Oseredok in Winnipeg at 184 Alexander. The excellence of these comics is particularly evident when one views them as historical documents of the life of the Ukrainian-Canadian immigrant. If you would like to get a hold of them for your own personal use, then write to STUDENT and we will reprint more than just these two samples which we hope will wet your appetite.

UKRAINIAN COMICS: A POSSIBLE REALITY

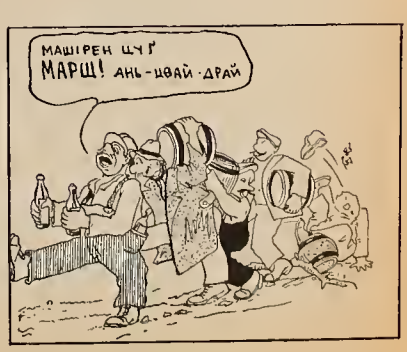
On the whole, Ukrainian society has ignored comics, although it has used humorous, political and satirical cartoons to good advantage. This negligence is due to the fact that Ukrainian society has not realized the large impact that comics can make on a given society; they can be used to educate the people and to spread trends among them. This is why comics are so popular among developing cultures as well as the North American society in general. These people find comics useful, informative and stimulating. In fact comics are so effective in spurring someone to read, that the Canadian government is using them to educate Eskimos because Eskimos prefer reading comics to reading books. Thus, comics are beneficial in that they serve an educational purpose, something books have trouble doing simply because no one wants to bother reading them.

All this means that Ukrainian children are not given any opportunity to assimilate Ukrainian through comics. Any idea or educational process (such as learning to read and write) that can be easily assimilated through comics, comes to Ukrainian society in Canada from the North American culture. It is for this reason that Ukrainians tend to repress comics because, even though Ukrainians constitute a part of North American culture they are not totally involved in it. Ukrainian society in Canada has unfortunately not understood the assets of comics. (There is no such animal as a Ukrainian comic strip today.) Their different language and cultural background forces them to follow different cultural trends. However Ukrainians should take a closer look at comics, for at worst they can prove to be an entertaining divertissement.

SOUL SEARCHING AND TRANSCENDENTAL SOLUTIONS

Now, why haven't Ukrainians got Ukrainian comics? Is it that they do not believe that they can use a North American medium to represent their social processes without becoming alienated?

The answer to the first question is that the publication of Ukrainian comics or comic strips requires a certain amount of talent, initiative and money, and although Ukrainians have the talent and the initiative, it is the government that has the money. The answer to the second question is yes, they fear alienation. What they do not realize is that the use of North American communication mediums is not alienating if it is used in a way that stimulates development. The best example of this is Titka Kvitka — a half hour cable television show in Ukrainian, that is so stimulating that Ukrainian children rarely fail to watch it.

Still these realizations do not solve the problem but they can indicate the road to reaching solutions. The following are some general guidelines:

1. Anyone who is seriously interested in the development of Ukrainian Canadian culture should become acquainted with mediums that stimulate and help develop the individual.
2. Anyone who is interested in promoting the use of Ukrainian in communications media should pressure for more government funds, or in other words hold the government to its multicultural promise.
3. Anyone who is interested in developing communications media within a Ukrainian context should start active fund raising campaigns based on maximum return for every cent invested.
4. Anyone who is Ukrainian and is not interested in Ukrainian communications media should be brought to task by being shown STUDENT, by being made to listen to Ukrainian radio programmes and the like. There should also be a larger forum of discussion about the effect of communications on community development.
5. Anyone who is interested in the development of Ukrainian comics should write to the present comic companies and start pressuring them for Ukrainian translations of their comics. This is a very effective tactic because comic companies are only too glad to translate their comics into different languages in order to meet the demands of the public. In fact Superman is translated into fifty languages and one more certainly would not hurt. Also it would be a good idea to demand comic strips in the Ukrainian papers that are more than just a rerun of Tarzan. A change from the usual would most definitely be a step in the right direction.